

REPORT ON FIELD WORK IN ISTANBUL AND CYPRUS, 1962-1963*

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IN 1962 conservation work accompanied by archaeological investigation was continued in Istanbul in the following monuments: Fethiye Camii (St. Mary Pammakaristos), Fenari Isa Camii (the Monastery of Lips) and, to a more limited extent, in St. Sophia. We shall describe here various findings made in the first of these churches; for Fenari Isa Camii, see *supra*, p. 251 ff. The first half of the 1963 season was spent in Cyprus in restoring and studying the wall paintings in the monasteries of St. Neophytos, in the district of Paphos, and St. Chrysostom at Koutsoveni. A full report on the frescoes of St. Neophytos will appear in the near future. Some preliminary observations on the monastery of St. Chrysostom are, however, offered here in anticipation of a more complete account which must await the completion of the restoration work. In the summer of 1963 work was resumed in Istanbul.

It is a pleasure to record our debt to Bay Feridun Dirimtekin, Director of the Ayasofya Museum, for his unfailing courtesy and assistance. In Cyprus we have enjoyed the full cooperation of the Department of Antiquities, and we should like to express our thanks in particular to the then Director, Dr. P. Dikaio, to Mr. A. Papageorgiou, Curator, and to Mr. A. Orphanou, Chief Foreman.

FETHIYE CAMII¹

The architectural complex has presented heretofore a number of unsolved problems. It has been generally admitted that the building as it stands today is of at least four periods:

* Editorial Note: The Byzantine Institute, Inc., whose archaeological work has been directed by members of the Dumbarton Oaks staff since 1950, ceased operations in the field on December 31, 1962. Beginning with the season of 1963, partially reported here, field work is being carried on by Dumbarton Oaks under its own auspices, and reports will continue to be published in the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.

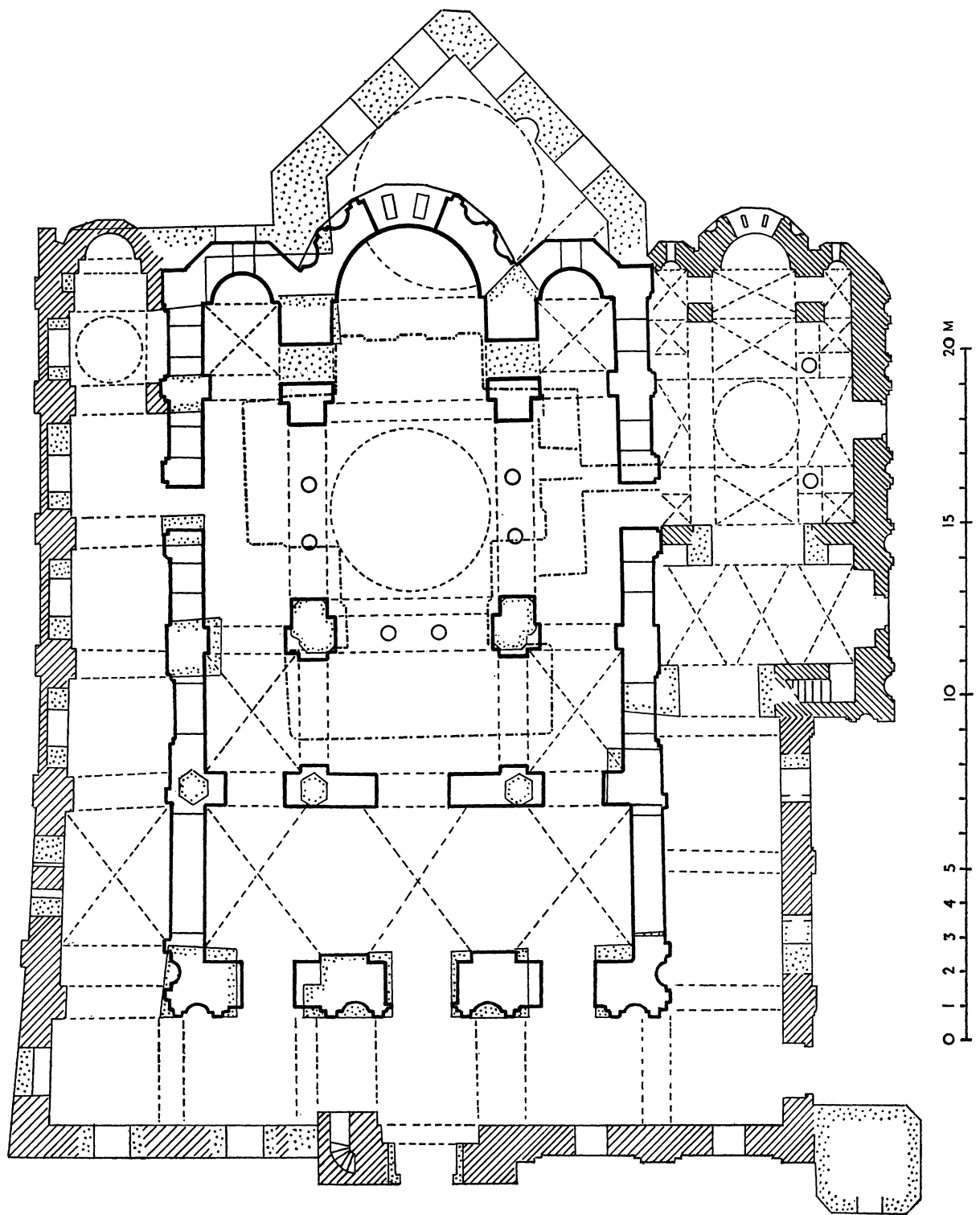
¹ See *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 9/10 (1956), p. 298 ff.; 14 (1960), p. 215 ff.; 17 (1963), p. 367 ff.

1. The main church; 2. The parecclesion, built against the south wall of the main church; 3. The perambulatory that envelops the building on the south, west, and north sides; and 4. Various Turkish alterations. The dates of the second and fourth stages are reasonably well established: the parecclesion was built by Maria, widow of Michael Glabas Tarchaniotes in the early fourteenth century; whereas the Turkish alterations were obviously carried out after the building had been converted into a mosque in 1586. But when was the main church built and what was its form? Various views have been expressed on this topic, the two extremes being represented by Van Millingen, who dates the church in the eighth century,² and Ebersolt, who dates it in the late thirteenth.³ We are now in a position to shed some light on this old problem.

We have not, unfortunately, been able to carry out a thorough investigation of the entire structure. After standing more or less derelict for several years, the building was separated into two parts: the parecclesion and the south arm of the perambulatory serve as a museum, while the remainder of the building has been reconverted into a mosque. The part that is used as a mosque was completely replastered in 1960, so that details of interior construction can no longer be studied. In 1957, however, when the interior was bare of plaster, it was photographed in some detail by the Byzantine Institute. A study of the photographs taken at that time reveals various features of the interior that are no longer apparent today. With the help of these photographs and on the basis of our examination of the "museum wing" as well as of the cistern that lies beneath the main church, we have come to the conclusion that the central part of the building is of the Comnenian

² *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (London, 1912), p. 335 ("possibly earlier"). On p. 333, however, it is dated between the ninth and the eleventh centuries.

³ Ebersolt and Thiers, *Les églises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1913), p. 227.

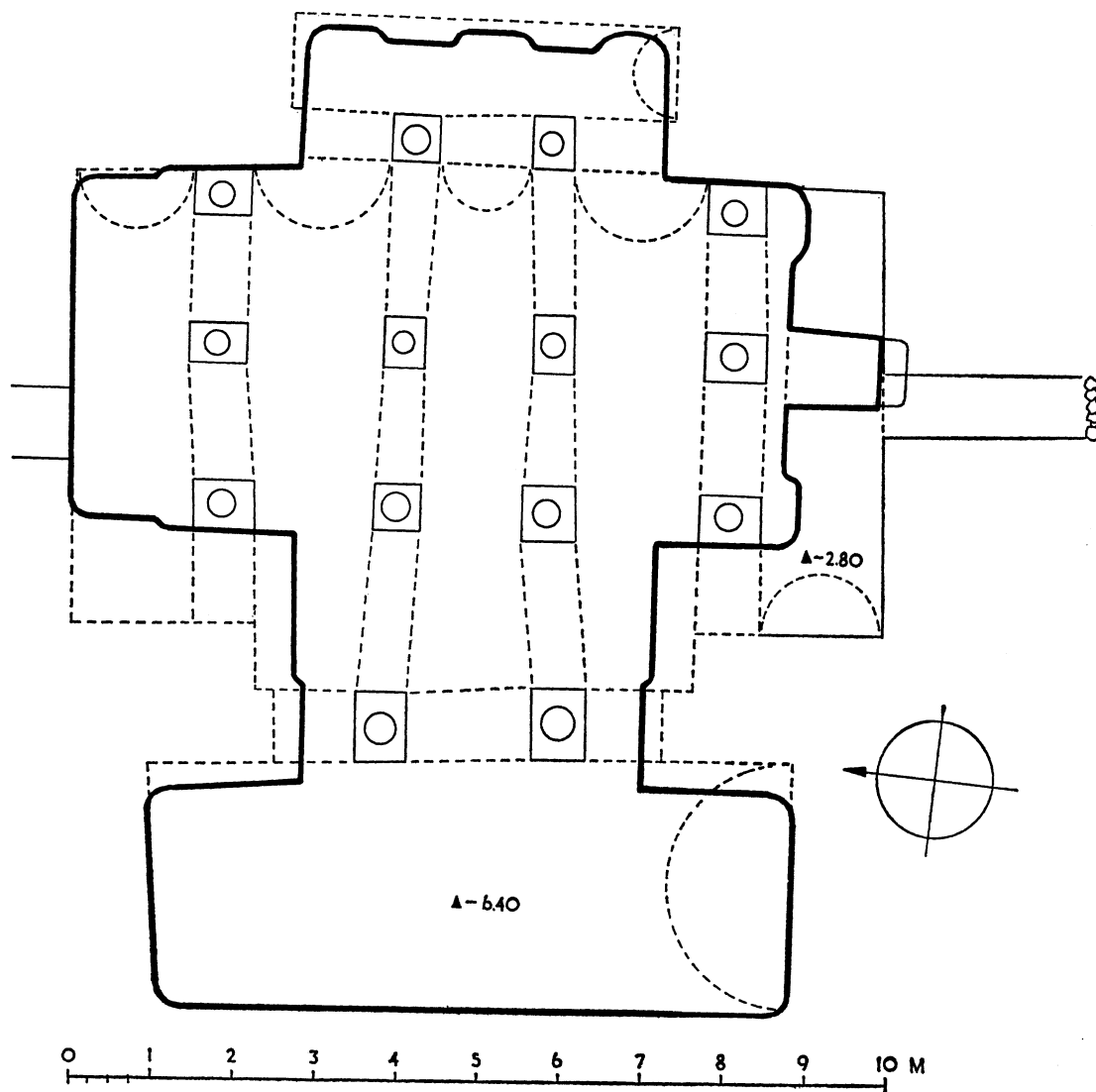


- COMNENIAN: PARTLY CONJECTURAL
- EARLY XIV CENTURY
- LATE BYZANTINE
- TURKISH
- OUTLINE OF CISTERN

A. Fethiye Camii. Tentative Plan of Original Church and Later Additions

period and that no part of the building above ground is older than this period. On the other hand, the main church may well occupy the site of an earlier one since the cistern appears to have been fashioned out of a crypt.

cistern (figs. A, B, and 1) lies under the central space of the church and is cruciform, with a "narthex" to the west. Into the cruciform area fourteen columns have been inserted. Nine of these are of marble, the



B. Fethiye Camii. Plan of Cistern under Nave

The cistern was discussed for the first time in 1949 by Aziz Ogan whose inspection of it appears to have been rather casual.⁴ The

⁴ "Fethiye Camii," *Belleten*, XIII (1949), p. 298ff., and English summary on p. 307; sketch plan, pl. xxix. The existence of the cistern was noted by Siderides in 'Ο ἐν Κων/πόλει Ἑλληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος, Suppl. to vols. XX-XXII (1892), p. 31, and, much earlier, by Hans Jacob Breuning, *Orientalische Reyss* (Strasbourg, 1612), p. 67.

remainder of granite. Eight columns have Ionic impost capitals; two have plain impost blocks; two have inverted bases for capitals (fig. 3); one has an impost block decorated with acanthus (fig. 4); and one has a Corinthian capital. The shafts are of varying thickness and height: to achieve uniformity of height, the shorter shafts have been placed upon pedestals. This is all reused material of the fifth and sixth centuries. One shaft (fig. 3)

is decorated with a handsome *chrismon* carved in relief. The vaulting system of the cistern consists of a barrel vault, running north-south, built upon centering over the "narthex;" five pitched barrel vaults (uncentered), running east-west (fig. 2); and one more pitched barrel vault, running north-south over the eastern arm of the cross.

It is at once apparent that the walls of the cistern have little connection with its vaulting which in many places extends well beyond the line of the walls. The only reasonable explanation of this anomaly is that the walls of the cistern belong to an older structure which, since it is cruciform and oriented to the east, may well have been the crypt of a previous church.⁵ The date of this structure cannot at present be determined since the walls are covered with a thick coat of waterproof mortar. In a few spots this coating has fallen down, exposing small areas of rubble construction that could belong to almost any period.

The transformation of the crypt into a cistern must have taken place simultaneously with the construction of the present church. The brickwork of the arcading is of the "concealed course" type and is uniform with that of the original parts of the church above. This distinctive type of construction has been shown to be an exclusive feature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries both in Constantinople and in outlying areas.⁶

Today access to the cistern is gained through a trapdoor in the south aisle. One descends first to a ledge at a depth of about 2.80 m. from the floor of the church. This ledge corresponds to the top of the cistern's walls. A barrel-vaulted passage, 0.75 m. wide and about 2.50 m. long, runs from this ledge in a southerly direction. It will be seen from the plan (fig. A) that the end of this passage, which is now blocked up with stones, lay directly under the south façade of the Comnenian church. We may therefore suppose that in the Comnenian period this passage served as the entrance to the cistern.

The plan of the Comnenian church cannot

⁵ Seeing that the Pammakaristos is built on a high artificial terrace, it is also possible that the earlier "crypt" originally stood above ground.

⁶ Cf. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 13 (1959), p. 249f.

be reconstructed with complete accuracy, but we can give a reasonable approximation of it (fig. A). It may be defined as belonging to the "perambulatory type."⁷ The dome, which is still in existence, is carried by four piers which have been cut down and refaced by the Turks. Between these piers, on all but the eastern side, two columns were placed. The Turks, who strove by every means to enlarge the interior space by breaking down partitions, removed these columns and built in their stead round arches of cut stone, each spanning the distance between one pier and the next. Before the interior was replastered, the triple arcades that rested on the missing columns were visible (fig. 6). The two eastern piers had passages tunneled through them which the Turks have blocked up. The vaulting arrangement of the aisles was probably the same as it is today, namely a barrel vault over each arm of the cross and a cross-groined vault in each corner. It may be granted that the church had three apses to the east, but no trace of them remains.

The wall separating the nave from the narthex has been almost completely removed by the Turks who retained only four points of support: three of these they whittled down to a hexagonal shape and refaced with cut stone.

Some idea of the exterior appearance of the Comnenian church may be gained from the west and south façades (the north façade has been largely dismantled). A feature of this church, as indeed of most other Comnenian buildings, was its articulation by means of multiple planes. Niches and stepped pilasters broke the monotony of flat walls; windows were arched with as many as five concentric archivolts, each one stepping slightly forward. The west façade had four tall niches, semicircular in plan; the two end ones may still be seen, while the two in the middle have been blocked up. We may imagine that there were three doors in the west façade.

⁷ On this type, cf. S. Eyice, "Un type architectural peu connu de l'époque des Paléologues à Byzance," *Anadolu araştırmaları*, 1/2 (Istanbul, 1959), p. 223ff.; *id.*, *Son devir Bizans mimarisi* (Istanbul, 1963), with summary in German, p. 105ff. The learned author, however, follows Ebersolt in regarding the original church of the Pammakaristos as being of the late thirteenth century.

A good opportunity was offered to us to study whatever remains of the south façade of the Comnenian church (fig. D; see pocket at end of volume). At its west end is a tall arched niche in which a painting of the "Closed Door" was later executed (see *infra*, p. 324). Immediately to the east of this we found a large semicircular window, 3.50 m. in diameter. This window originally lit the south end of the narthex. In its soffit is a sinking for the insertion of a grille, proving, incidentally, that this was an exterior window. The soffit inside the grille was decorated with mosaic, outside with fresco. The fresco design was later overpainted, so that very little of it is visible. It was a pattern in purple on a blue background.

The next feature we encounter as we proceed eastward is a window, about 1.50 m. in span, surrounded by five voussoir rings; it lit the southwest corner of the naos. When the narthex of the parecclesion was built, about two thirds of this window were blocked up.

The wall separating the main body of the parecclesion from its narthex conceals, in the north arcossolium, a stepped pilaster of the Comnenian period. To the east of this we found a marble door sill, about 0.20 m. below the floor of the parecclesion. This door opened on the transverse axis of the church. Above it were three windows in a row, the central one about 1.20 m. wide, while the lateral ones were about 0.90 m. wide. The western one of the three windows (fig. 20) was blocked by the narthex of the parecclesion. The other two windows are visible in the north wall of the parecclesion; the opening of the central one was, however, reduced in the fourteenth century from about 1.20 m. to 0.80 m. All three windows had grilles, and their soffits were decorated with mosaic on the inside of the grilles and with fresco on the outside. Further east we have found no traces of the Comnenian church.

The brickwork of the original church is, as we have said, of the "concealed course" type. We have found three successive courses of brick (plus two recessed ones) alternating with four courses of roughly-hewn stone, but there is no regularity about this. The mortar is a dirty white inside the walls; it was laid in a slanting joint over the recessed brick course and then pointed up flush with the vertical

surface in light pink mortar. The pointing was then lined with a sharp implement. The combined joint between two brick courses is about 10 cm. wide, the bricks themselves being about 5 cm. thick (a little heavier than the bricks used in the fourteenth century).

Of the decoration of the original church very little remains. We have mentioned the small fragments of mosaic and fresco in the windows of the south façade. A patch of mosaic—a green rinceau on gold ground—is also preserved in the northwest bay of the church, in the soffit of an arch between two Turkish hexagonal piers. A carved cornice of acanthus leaves circles the base of the dome. Fragments of a similar cornice remain in the bema, at the springing line of the vaults (fig. 5). Until recently the same cornice extended between the piers of the dome, above the triple arcades (fig. 6). A small fragment of a different kind of cornice, with deeply undercut coupled leaves, is to be seen on the south wall of the southwest bay. Under the rugs which now cover the floor there remain some areas of the original pavement. Especially noteworthy is a panel (3.40 by 1.50 m.) in the central western bay of the church (fig. 7). The panel consists of four matched slabs of veined purple marble and has a double border, verd antique inside and orange outside. There is a small strip of *opus sectile* work following the orange border at the southeast corner of the panel. Another small fragment of *opus sectile* (0.70 by 0.40 m.), with an interlace pattern, survives at the base of the northwest pier of the dome.

The next stage in the history of the building is marked by the decoration of the south façade with frescoes, an operation that involved some minor structural changes. As we shall see presently, this happened in the Palaeologan period, but *before* the construction of the parecclesion was contemplated. The large semicircular window of the Comnenian narthex was now divided into two by the insertion of a masonry pier, about 1.40 m. wide, and upon the face of this pier was painted the composition of "the Virgin praying in her house." The soffit of the window was frescoed afresh, covering the painted ornament of the Comnenian period. The niche at the west end of the Comnenian façade was decorated with the composition of the

"Closed Door." Next to the window of the southwest bay of the Comnenian church was painted the fresco of "St. Peter," as well as an ornamental border, in the soffit of that window. In order to obtain a reasonably flat surface for St. Peter, the projecting voussoir rings of the window had to be partly hacked off. The stepped pilaster that was later incorporated into the north niche-tomb of the narthex of the parecclesion was also painted: all that can be made out now is a dado imitating marble panels and a band of green ground above. A second coat of fresco was simultaneously applied to the soffits of the three windows that lit the central bay of the south aisle.

The three surviving figural compositions are clearly but a small part of an iconographic cycle. These paintings were probably protected by means of a wooden shed roof forming a kind of open veranda along the south façade of the church. Such an arrangement is suggested by the manner in which the upper border of the frescoes representing St. Peter and the "Virgin praying in her house" is smoothed down onto the vertical surface of the masonry: a shed roof would have produced a band of shadow at this level, making the termination of the fresco almost indistinguishable. We may call attention to the fact that the parecclesion, too, when it was later built, was designed to have a veranda along its south and west façades, as suggested by the presence of projecting marble corbels level with the crown of the lower windows. We may now proceed to a more detailed account of the frescoes.

The Closed Door (figs. 10, 11): The painting occupies a tall arched niche, semicircular in plan (original height 3.15 m., opening 0.68 m.). The bottom part, to a height of 1 m., is a dado imitating a marble revetment in three horizontal bands of paneling. The lowest band is mottled red, the middle one simulates two matched slabs of veined Proconnesian marble and a panel of yellow-brown marble to the left, while the top band is made to look like red and white conglomerate. Above the dado is a strip of green ground upon which the composition is placed. Three high priests are shown moving from left to right on a marble floor which forms a raised step; on this step is placed an altar covered with a red cloth. The

cloth is decorated with jewelled gold borders with a circular medallion on the front side. Upon the altar, the greater part of which is missing, there stood a gold vessel. The first priest from the right has long, yellowish hair and a short beard of the same color. He wears a red tiara tied with a white sash, a blue tunic, and a red cloak. Covering both hands with his cloak, he holds a gold box with its lid open, as he steps up with his right foot towards the altar. The second priest has a long grey beard. He wears a red tiara, a light green tunic with a decorated gold hem and a gold cuff, and a black cloak. With his right hand he swings a censer, while in his left he holds a gold bowl. The third priest is shown with his balding head uncovered. He wears a light blue tunic with gold hem and cuffs and an embroidered gold band running down the middle, and a red cloak. He swings a censer with his right hand, and holds an open box in his left. All three priests have their ankles and feet tightly banded. Behind the figures there rises a grey, arched building with a projecting entablature supported on a porphyry column with a gold capital. Framed by the arched structure is a yellow door, its valves decorated with coffered panels. In front of the door is a small, standing figure of the Virgin holding up both hands with the palms outwards. The Virgin is represented in the same color as the door, namely, yellow ochre. The background behind the architectural setting is blue painted over black.

The Virgin praying in her house (figs. 12-14): Originally, this composition must have occupied the entire width of the inserted pier, but only a fragment remains, measuring 0.93 by 0.78 m. (excluding the red border). Until the time of its discovery this fresco was concealed by the springing of a transverse arch, surely of Turkish date, spanning the perambulatory. In order to make the fresco visible, the base of the arch had to be cut away and a support of reinforced concrete, shaped like a fireplace, had to be anchored in the wall (fig. 8). In the right foreground of the fresco we see a female figure, who is surely the Virgin, dressed in a blue tunic and purple maphorion. Only the upper part of the figure is preserved, and that not too well. The Virgin stands or kneels in front of a lectern, shown in rising perspective, and lifts up both hands

toward a celestial apparition. Christ in half figure, his right hand extended in blessing, his left holding a scroll, appears in a segment of sky. He is identified by the sigla $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}$. The entire apparition is executed in grisaille with accents laid on thickly. To the left, the Virgin (?) is shown once more, turned in the opposite direction. Only her shoulder and part of her halo survive; she is dressed once more in a purple garment. Behind her is a piece of furniture like the back of a bench. The "backdrop" consists of a house, placed diagonally against a high wall. The house has a door half covered with a red curtain and two arched openings in its long side. The roof is covered with two rows of red tiles. Above the roof is the following inscription: $\dagger\text{Προ}(\sigma)\text{-ευχ}(\sigma)\mu[\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta] \nu \tau\tilde{\omega} \sigma\acute{\iota}[\kappa\omega] \alpha\upsilon\tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$.

Three kinds of ornamental bands appear in the soffit of the large semicircular window (laid over the earlier decoration) and on the reveals of the inserted pier. On the west side of the soffit and on the west reveal of the pier the design is the same: on a light turquoise background is a series of tulips with red and yellow or red and white petals. Between each tulip is an almond-shaped cartouche, itself containing two smaller tulips (fig. 15).⁸ One cannot help being reminded of Turkish tiles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The design on the east reveal of the pier is rather cruder: a white rinceau outlined in black. In the east soffit of the window is a more elaborate rinceau on a yellow background: at the center of each spiral is a red or green flower (fig. 16).⁹

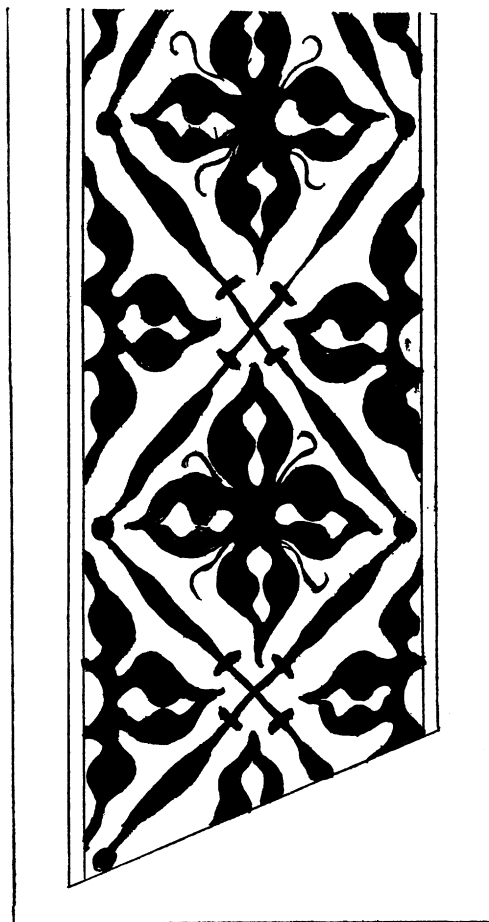
St. Peter (figs. 17-19): This fresco, of which only a fragment survives (height 1.44 m., width at the top 0.90 m.), is painted on the hacked surface of a series of archivolts that surrounded an earlier window. In the foreground is a standing figure of St. Peter, recognizable by his features and further identified by the initial $\overline{\text{Π}}$ above his head. He wears a light blue tunic and a fawn-colored himation with brown and blue shadows which falls billowing, as if blown by a strong wind,

⁸ For the ornament, cf. O. Tafrali, *Monuments byzantins de Curtea de Arges* (Paris, 1931), pl. LVI, 1.

⁹ Cf. Zagorka Janc, *Ornamenti fresaka iz Srbije i Makedonije* (Belgrade, 1961), Nos. 400f. (Sopoćani), 418 (Bogorodica Ljeviška), 430 (Peć), and esp. 457 (Velučje).

over the left elbow. Peter holds both hands stretched out. Behind him is an architectural setting consisting of a high wall with a coping and a gabled house placed diagonally. The house has two windows, a narrow arched one on the left and a square one to the right; within the latter is a faint silhouette resembling the head and shoulders of a figure. The roof is covered with red tiles. Two white bands or rays that descend upon the house from the right disappear into the façade of the parecclesion (fig. 19).

In the soffit of the window, whose face is decorated with the scene of St. Peter, is a band of ornament (see figure *infra*) which is now practically invisible owing to the blocking up of the window. It is a diaper pattern on a yellow ground. Within each diamond is a four-leaved green fleuron with a red center.



In order to expose the St. Peter fresco, the northeast pendentive of the domical vault covering the easternmost bay of the perambulatory had to be removed and the vault supported by means of a reinforced concrete lintel. The transverse arch built against the west façade of the parecclesion was, for the same reason, pared down towards its base and was made to rest on a strong concrete corbel (see fig. 9).

Of the three central windows of the Comnenian façade, only the western one, now hidden behind the north wall of the parecclesion's narthex (fig. 20), has a well-preserved soffit decoration. The foliate ornament is painted in blue-black and highlighted in red, green, and yellow (fig. 21).

All the fragments of painted decoration that we have described appear to be contemporary, and they are clearly of the Palaeologan period. It is, however, equally clear that this decoration was executed before the construction of the parecclesion, indeed at a time when such an addition was not even contemplated. The manner in which the St. Peter fresco disappears into the façade of the parecclesion (fig. 19) leaves no doubt concerning this conclusion; furthermore, the handsome painted ornament in the soffits of the windows (itself laid over an earlier decoration) was made invisible when the parecclesion was built. The only question that may be raised is whether the fresco of the "Closed Door" is of the same date as that of St. Peter. At first sight, there appears to be some stylistic difference between the two: whereas St. Peter is rather more "painterly," and akin to what has been improperly called the Macedonian school, the composition of the "Closed Door" is more academic and calls to mind the Palaeologan style of the second decade of the fourteenth century. This apparent difference is accentuated not only by the subtler coloring of St. Peter's garments, but also by the poorer preservation of this fresco: the loss of much of the surface paint has toned down those dark outlines and white highlights which the Byzantine painter applied last of all in an impasto technique and which often gave his work a somewhat rigid quality. But apart from these considerations, there are other reasons why the fresco of the "Closed Door" can hardly be accounted

later than the others. We have already mentioned the stepped pilaster of the Comnenian façade which was later incorporated into the north arcossolium of the parecclesion's narthex (cf. fig. 24); this pilaster, as we have pointed out, bears at its base some fresco decoration which is necessarily earlier than the erection of the parecclesion. The decoration consists of a dado of imitation marble, above which is a strip of green ground. Now, the significant fact is that this strip of green ground is at exactly the same height as the green ground of the "Closed Door" fresco (see fig. D), which suggests that the two frescoes were part of the same decorative scheme. As we shall see presently, the "Closed Door" could not have been an isolated composition: it must have formed part of a typological Marian cycle which probably continued at the same level along the south façade of the Comnenian church; nor is there any indication that the "Closed Door" was repainted over an earlier fresco.

The three figural compositions we have described belonged to two distinct cycles: a narrative cycle above and a typological cycle below. Both referred to the Virgin Mary, to whom the church was dedicated. The two upper narrative scenes seem to pertain to a Dormition cycle; we are not, however, acquainted with similar representations elsewhere.¹⁰ The church of St. Clement at Ohrid, which is exactly contemporary, also contains a Dormition cycle, but one that is made up of different episodes as, e.g., the trees bowing down to Mary on the Mount of Olives.¹¹ The latter cycle is inspired by the homily of John of Thessalonica,¹² whereas the paintings of the Pammakaristos appear to be related to the apocryphal text of Pseudo-John. The appearance of Christ to the dying Mary is given great emphasis in Pseudo-John: the incident takes place *in her own house* in Jerusalem and involves a lengthy dialogue between mother and Son. In answer to Mary's

¹⁰ For some helpful suggestions on matters of iconography, we should like to thank Mme J. Lafontaine-Dosogne.

¹¹ Millet-Frolow, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie*, III (Paris, 1962), pl. 11, 2 ff.

¹² This homily, or rather pastoral letter, was edited by M. Jugie in *Patrologia orientalis*, XIX (1926), p. 344 ff. Short version, ed. by F. Halkin, *Rev. ét. byz.*, XI (1953), p. 156 ff.

entreaties, Christ makes the solemn pledge (and herein surely lies the significance of the scene) that anyone invoking her name in prayer shall find mercy before the Father. Then Christ turns to Peter and bids him start chanting. Mary blesses the assembled apostles and then gives up her soul.¹³ The prominent part of St. Peter in the Virgin's obsequies explains his presence in the next fresco, which may possibly have represented him receiving the Lord's command: ἔφθασεν ὁ καιρὸς ἄρξαι τῆς ὑμνωδίας.

The "Closed Door" (based on Ezek. 44 : 2) was one of the traditional symbols of the Virgin and as such it figured in the composition known as "The Prophets from of Old" (ἄνωθεν οἱ προφῆται).¹⁴ As an independent scene, however, it does not appear to have had a fixed iconography. At Lesnovo it assumes an entirely different form: Christ sits at a table on which is placed a round loaf, while Ezekiel stands before him holding a scroll.¹⁵ This represents the next verse (Ezek. 44 : 3), "The prince, he shall sit in it to eat bread before the Lord." Iconographically, our fresco is closely related to one in the parecclesion of the Kariye Camii representing Aaron and his sons before the Altar,¹⁶ as well as to the composition known as the "Tabernacle of Witness," which occurs at Gračanica, Lesnovo, Curtea de Argeș, and elsewhere.¹⁷ We may imagine that the "Closed Door" was followed on the south façade by other typological scenes, such as the Burning Bush, Jacob's Ladder, Gideon's Fleece, etc.

The next structural stage is marked by the erection of the parecclesion and its narthex. Since the splendid mosaic decoration of the parecclesion will be the object of a separate publication, we shall confine ourselves here to a few other points that are worthy of note.

It is quite clear that the west door of the narthex, as well as the door leading from the

narthex into the chapel, was originally on axis and much narrower than the present openings that were widened by the Turks. The original width of these doors is indicated on figure C (see pocket at end of volume). It is equally clear that the west façade of the narthex was intended to stand free.¹⁸ The oft-quoted epigram composed by Manuel Philes that is carved on the exterior marble cornice started at the north end of the west façade (the cross flanked by two palmettes barely visible in the lower right corner of fig. 19 marked its beginning) and extended the whole length of both the west and south façades. A small piece of this inscription, bearing the letters ΧΜΗΣ (fig. 22) and corresponding to line 4 of the published text—[ὑπνοῖς ὑπελθὼν ἀντὶ λό]χης [τὸν τάφον]—¹⁹ was found loose in the course of our work. Another segment of the inscription is concealed at the point where the wall of the perambulatory abuts on the west façade of the narthex.

The narthex of the parecclesion was used for burials. There were two arcosolia tombs in the east wall, one on each side of the door; possibly one in the arched recess of the south wall; and a fourth one in the west wall, to the north of the entrance door.²⁰ The last of these was framed by a marble revetment, some small pieces of which have survived, keyed into the Comnenian masonry (see fig. D). There is no indication that there was a tomb in the north wall of the narthex.

The south arcosolium of the east wall has preserved a small portion of its decoration (fig. 23), curving from the top of the back wall onto the soffit of the arch. This arcosolium was first given a plaster rendering on which a representation of mottled marble in black and light red lines was rather crudely painted. Subsequently, a mosaic was executed over the fresco. Very little remains of the mosaic, but enough to tell us that it represented (surely in conjunction with the portrait or portraits of the deceased) a bust of the Virgin Mary in an orant attitude within a three-tone glory. The glory is in three concentric

¹³ Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae* (Leipzig, 1866), p. 107 ff.

¹⁴ Dionysios of Fournà, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne*, ed. by Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St. Petersburg, 1909), p. 146.

¹⁵ N. L. Okunev, "Lesnovo," *L'art byzantin chez les Slaves*, I/2 (Paris, 1930), p. 238.

¹⁶ P. A. Underwood in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 11 (1957), p. 205 ff. and fig. 39.

¹⁷ See N. Beljaev, "Le tabernacle du témoignage," *L'art byzantin chez les Slaves*, I/2, p. 315 ff.

¹⁸ Cf. P. A. Underwood in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 14 (1960), p. 219.

¹⁹ *Manuelis Philae carmina*, ed. by Miller, I, p. 117.

²⁰ See also P. A. Underwood, *loc. cit.*, and plan, p. 216.

segments, the innermost one being dark blue glass, the second grey marble, and the third (of which only one row of cubes remains) in white stone. Part of a thumb and the outline of a hand (the Virgin's uplifted left hand) are barely visible in the grey segment. The head must have been inside the blue segment and was marked with the customary sigla $\overline{MP}\overline{\Theta}\overline{V}$.

The north arcosolium of the east wall has lost its decoration, but has a cross crudely painted in red and green directly on the masonry (fig. 24). It is a "Russian" cross with the lowest bar aslant, and stands above a large circle or orb. The initials $\overline{IC}\overline{XC}$ are visible in the two upper quarters, and $\overline{\Phi}\overline{X}$ [$\overline{\Phi}\overline{\Pi}$] over the orb.

Both arcosolia in the east wall had tomb boxes under the floor. The south one was partially emptied by us and was found to have masonry walls to a depth of about 1.20 m. No objects were found inside.

The masonry of the parecclesion is typical of fourteenth-century work in Constantinople.²¹ Four courses of brick alternate with four courses of roughly dressed stone. The height of four brick courses and four mortar joints is about 35 cm.; that of four stone courses and four joints from 65 to 75 cm. The bricks measure about 34 by 4 cm. The mortar is pink and is laid in weathered joints in the interior of the building; on the outside the joints were pointed flush and ruled horizontally. The appearance of the bricks was heightened with red paint: this is particularly apparent in the part of the west façade concealed by the transverse arch of the perambulatory next to the St. Peter fresco.

The fourth structural stage is marked by the addition of the perambulatory along the north, west, and south sides of the church. The perambulatory, too, has undergone many changes. In the part that has concerned us especially, namely its south arm, we found that the transverse arches as well as the domical vaults are of Turkish construction. The window openings of the south arm have been displaced (see fig. C). In the north arm of the perambulatory, bays 1-4 (counting from the east) had arcosolia under the present windows (see fig. A). Bay 5 (in line with the narthex) had a double window.

²¹ Cf. D. Oates in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 14 (1960), p. 225, note.

The perambulatory had a painted decoration of which a few insignificant fragments survive: one on the right-hand jamb of the central western door (a diaper pattern), the rest in the windows of the little dome that covers bay 1 of the north arm (meander framing the windows and floral arabesques in the soffits). There is also a semicircular marble lintel panel, decorated with a cross, above the little door that gives access to a spiral staircase leading up to the roof.

The masonry of the perambulatory is, in places, not unlike that of the parecclesion. It consists of four courses of brick alternating with four or five of stone. The mortar joints between the bricks are, however, thinner (on the west façade the height of four bricks and four joints is only 25 cm.), and there are horizontal and vertical rulings on the pointing, both between the bricks and between the stones which are more neatly cut than in the parecclesion.

The last structural stage is represented by the very extensive Turkish alterations: the construction of the apse pointing to Mecca, the removal of the columns under the central dome and of the two north columns of the parecclesion, and, in general, the breaking down of internal partitions so as to secure the maximum of space.

Historical Considerations

We may now enquire whether history has any light to shed on the date of the successive structural stages we have outlined.

Stage 1 should certainly be connected with an inscription that was once visible on the cornice of the bema (ἐν τῇ ἀνत्यγι τοῦ βήματος τῆς Παμμακαρίστου). The text of the inscription was copied in a manuscript of the year 1761 belonging to the Greek Theological School of Chalki. Unfortunately, the manuscript perished in the earthquake which destroyed the School in 1894.²² The inscription read as follows:

Ἰωάννου φρόντισμα Κομνηνοῦ τόδε
Ἀννης τε ῥίζης Δουκικῆς τῆς συζύγου,
οἷς ἀντιδούσα πλουσίαν, ἀγνή, χάριν
τάξαις ἐν οἴκῳ τοῦ θεοῦ μονοτρόπους.

²² See Siderides in 'Ο ἐν Κων/πόλει Ἑλληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος, XXIX (1907), p. 271 f.

That is: "This is the thoughtful work of John Comnenus and of his consort Anna of the stock of Doukas. O pure one, grant them rich grace in return by setting them like the solitary in the house of God" (cf. Ps. 67 [68], 6).

We see no reason to doubt the authenticity of this inscription which probably disappeared after 1586 when the Turks dismantled the original apse of the church.²³ The Chalki manuscript contained lengthy extracts from the works of Manuel Malaxos who was connected with the Patriarchate ca. 1577 and would thus have had every opportunity to copy the inscription. The question remains, however: who was this John Comnenus? Siderides, who first published the epigram, identified him with the grand domestikos John Comnenus (d. 1067), the husband of Anna Dalassena and father of Alexius I. Strangely enough, this highly implausible identification has been endorsed by all the scholars who have since discussed the Pammakaristos; yet the only authority Siderides could quote in support of it was a casual statement by Ducange to the effect that the Pantepoptes monastery was *ab Anna Ducaena Alexii parente aedificatum*.²⁴ Ducange must have made a slip for, as he himself knew,²⁵ Anna Dalassena did not belong to the Doukas family; she was the daughter of one Alexius Charon, prefect of the Italian provinces, and was a Dalassena on her mother's side.²⁶ She was, furthermore, the

declared enemy of the Doukai whom she accused of having deprived her husband of the throne.²⁷ The identification advanced by Siderides must therefore be abandoned. Many lesser known members of the Comnenian family bore the name of John, e.g., the sebastos John Comnenus who corresponded with Theophylact,²⁸ John, the son of the grand drungarios Constantine, who corresponded with George Tornikes,²⁹ John the Fat who staged an unsuccessful revolt in 1201,³⁰ etc. We do not know, however, whether any of these was married to an Anna who might have been a Doukaina on either her father's or her mother's side. Further research into the tangled genealogy of the Comneni may yet reveal the identity of John Comnenus, founder of the Pammakaristos, who, we suspect, lived in the twelfth, not in the eleventh, century. This conclusion is suggested to us by the architectural form of the original church whose elaborate articulation of surfaces points to the late, rather than the early Comnenian style.

Stages 2 and 3 are both connected with the career of the protostrator Michael Glabas Tarchaniotes who assumed control of the monastery in the late thirteenth century. Here once more we are faced with a complex prosopographical problem which the same Siderides further entangled by confusing Michael Glabas with his namesake, the protovestiaris Michael Tarchaniotes (d. 1284),³¹ and making a number of other unjustified assertions;³² unfortunately, these have been repeated uncritically by several later scholars.³³ The main facts, as disentangled by Martini,³⁴ are the following: the military

²³ A sixteenth-century text printed by R. Foerster, *De antiquitatibus et libris manuscriptis constantinopolitanis commentatio* (Rostock, 1877), p. 15f.; reprinted by Lampros, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, I (1904), p. 287f.; XVII (1923), p. 380f., states that Michael Doukas Glabas was general of the army under the Emperor John Comnenus; that he went off to fight the enemy for three years, during which time his wife Martha became a nun; that when Michael returned he, too, took the habit and founded the monastery of the Pammakaristos. This, of course, is nonsense, but it is easy to see how the pieces fall into place. The author had before him the inscription on the stone cornice made out in Martha's name (which he copied down: cf. *infra*, note 40), as well as the portrait of Glabas which was still in existence at that time; he must also have seen the inscription of John Comnenus in the bema and taken it to refer to the emperor of that name. So he put two and two together.

²⁴ *Constantinopolis christiana*, bk. III, p. 80.

²⁵ *Familiae aug. byz.*, p. 171.

²⁶ Niceph. Bryennius, Bonn ed., p. 19. On the

family of the Dalasseni, see N. Adontz in *Byzantion*, X (1935), p. 171 ff.

²⁷ Cf. *Alexiad.*, III. ii. 1, ed. by Leib, I, p. 106.

²⁸ PG, 126, cols. 513, 516, 529 ff.

²⁹ Lampros, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, XIII (1916), p. 5.

³⁰ See A. Heisenberg, *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos* (Würzburg, 1907).

³¹ On whom, see M. Treu, *Maximi monachi Planudis epistulae* (Breslau, 1890), p. 236.

³² 'Ο ἐν Κων/πόλει Ἑλλην. Φιλολ. Σύλλογος, Suppl. to vols. XX-XXII (1892), p. 19 ff.

³³ E.g., A. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen*, diss. Munich, 1938, No. 24; R. Guiland in *Etudes byzantines*, III (1945), p. 191 ff.

³⁴ *Manuelis Philae carmina inedita* (Naples,

career of Michael Glabas extends from *ca.* 1265 to 1306; he was made grand constable in 1282 and promoted to protostrator shortly after 1297/8; the exact date of his death is not known, but he very probably died *ca.* 1310, or even a little earlier. In any case, he was dead by 1315, when another man, John Philes Palaeologus, was appointed protostrator.³⁵

Siderides argued that the Pammakaristos monastery was refounded by Michael Glabas between 1292 and 1294: the former date is to be eliminated,³⁶ but the latter remains a valid *terminus ante quem*. Not later than 1293 Michael Glabas spent a long time at Sozopolis on the Black Sea, where he met a monk by the name of Cosmas and took a great liking to him. He introduced Cosmas to the emperor and made him abbot of "his own monastery of Theotokos Pammakaristos."

1900), p. 63ff. See also V. Laurent in *Échos d'Orient*, XXXVIII (1939), p. 296ff.; P. J. Alexander in *Byzantion*, XV (1941), p. 204ff.

³⁵ The most recent and extensive study on Glabas is that by G. I. Theocharides, *Μιχαήλ Δούκας Γλαβᾶς Ταρχανειώτης, Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης, Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἑπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς*, 7 (1957), pp. 183–206. The author, however, does not establish the precise date of Glabas' death. Cf. pp. 197 and 202: "shortly before 1315."

³⁶ Siderides argued as follows: in the sixteenth century there was extant in the church a portrait of Glabas and his wife inscribed *Μιχαήλ Δούκας Γλαβᾶς Ταρχανειώτης ὁ πρωτοστράτωρ καὶ κτίτωρ*, etc. (M. Crusius, *Turcograecia* [Basel, 1584], p. 189); hence Glabas was already protostrator when he founded the monastery; but this dignity was conferred on him in 1292 upon the dismissal of Michael Strategopoulos. The second proposition is, however, questionable (the portrait could well have been added later), while the third is incorrect: Pachymeres, II, p. 183, in relating Glabas' residence at Sozopolis (*ca.* 1292/3), says specifically *ὁ μέντοιγε τῆνικαδὲ μέγας κonoσταύλος ὁ Ταρχανειώτης Γλαβᾶς, ὃν καὶ πρωτοστράτορα ὁ κρατῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν*. As Martini points out, Glabas is still styled grand constable with reference to events in 1297/8: Pachymeres, II, p. 271. On the other hand, Loparev goes too far when he asserts that Glabas did not become protostrator until 1306: *Vizantijskij poet Manuil Fil* (St. Petersburg, 1891), p. 16. In the monogrammatic inscription that runs along the south façade of the parecclesion Glabas is likewise styled protostrator: see *Archäol. Anzeiger* (1939), col. 188ff.; *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρ. Βυζαντ. Σπουδῶν*, XVI (1940), p. 418.

On January 1, 1294 Cosmas was elected patriarch under the name of John XII.³⁷ It follows that the Pammakaristos came into the possession of Michael Glabas some time before 1293.

Regarding the date of Glabas' death, the following considerations may be of some relevance. The last campaign in which he is known to have taken part was, as we have said, that of 1306, when he was instructed to accompany into the Balkans the Emperor Michael IX. At that time Glabas was surely in his sixties and was suffering from gout which prevented him from taking an active part in operations.³⁸ He may, of course, have gone into retirement thereafter and spent several peaceful years as a monk at the Pammakaristos; but the wording of the epigram by Manuel Philes—the one that still exists on the exterior cornice—suggests that Glabas left army service only to die.³⁹ Like many of his contemporaries, he may have become a monk on his deathbed. It is likely, therefore, that Glabas died closer to 1310 than to 1315.

In the context of the above data, we may conclude that the fresco decoration (*Stage 2*) was executed in the nineties of the thirteenth century or, at the latest, in the very first years of the fourteenth; and that the parecclesion was erected shortly after 1310. The frescoes of the Pammakaristos appear, therefore, to be the earliest dated specimens of Palaeologan wall painting in Constantinople, which places them in a position of some importance in the history of Byzantine art.

Stage 4: We have no clear evidence of when the perambulatory was built and we cannot, *a priori*, exclude the possibility that this may have happened at the time when the Pammakaristos was serving as the Patriarchate (1455–1586). An inspection of the actual building reveals to us that the perambulatory was added partly, at least, for the purpose of accommodating further burials; and that this was done at a time when little importance was attached to the preservation of the commemorative inscription by Manuel Philes,

³⁷ Pachymeres, II, p. 183ff.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, II, p. 445.

³⁹ Cf. esp. verses 6, *μὴ πάλιν εὐρών ὁ στρατός σε συγχέη*, and 9, *πάν ὄπλον ἄφεις ἔκκρεμές τῷ πατρίῳ*.

i.e., presumably an appreciable time after the death of the founder's widow.⁴⁰ On the other hand, we are fairly well informed concerning the additions made to the Pammakaristos while it was the patriarchal seat: reference is made to the building of cells, a refectory, a kitchen, a bakery, a stout wall to enclose the whole monastery; to the making of a gilded *templon* for the main church, of a patriarchal throne, etc.⁴¹ Yet nothing is said about the building of the perambulatory which in itself was not a small operation. We may provisionally conclude, therefore, that the perambulatory was added before the Turkish conquest, say toward the middle of the fourteenth century. It may have had some connection with the mosaic portraits of an Emperor Andronicus and an Empress Anna who, it has been conjectured, were Andronicus III (1328-1341) and Anna of Savoy. These portraits, which were extant in the sixteenth century, were placed to the right of one of the outside doors.⁴² We may note that attached

⁴⁰ As a result of this amputation, the copy of the inscription made in the sixteenth century (see references to Foerster and Lampros in note 23 *supra*) begins with line 6 of the text. The copy does contain, however, the very last verse which disappeared when the east end of the south façade was cut down by the Turks.

⁴¹ See M. I. Gedeon, *Χρονικά τοῦ πατριαρχικοῦ οἴκου καὶ νοαῦ* (Constantinople, 1884), pp. 55ff., 62f.

⁴² The identification is probable, though not certain. Siderides who, as we have seen, held that the monastery was refounded by Glabas after 1292, argued that the emperor represented in the mosaic could not have been Andronicus II because his wife, Anna of Hungary, died in 1281/2. Actually, we have no *terminus post quem* for the refoundation, although a date before 1281/2 does appear to be a little too early. Andronicus III married Anna of Savoy in 1326. The location of the portraits is not altogether clear. Zygomalas, writing to Crusius, says that they were ἐν πατριαρχικῇ πύλῃ τῇ ἐκτός, εἰσερχομένων δεξιᾷ (*Turcograecia*, p. 75). Crusius, quoting Gerlach, says: *Postquam primam portam Patriarchatus (ea autem meridiem spectat) intraveris: occurrit altera, sub fornice: ad cuius fornicis dexterum latus, vetus imago Imperatoris & Augustae picta est, sine nomine [sic]: ad sinistrum verò, duo Apostoli* (*ibid.*, p. 190). Breuning, who gives a reasonable facsimile of the inscriptions, says merely that the portraits were "im eingang auff der rechten seiten" (*Orientalische Reyss*, p. 67). Salomon Schweigger reproduces the portraits with a westernized background and says that they were "unter dem

to the perambulatory was a belfry tower⁴³ which probably stood in the middle of the west façade and was reached by the spiral staircase to the left of the main entrance.

Sculpture Finds

1. Small capital decorated with the busts of three apostles carved in relief (figs. 26-29). Height 30 cm., width at the top 22 cm. It was intended to surmount a circular colonnette, 16 cm. in diameter, for the attachment of which there is a square dowel hole on the underside of the capital. The diameter of the missing colonnette corresponds to that of a molded base (height 15 cm.), part of which was found loose in the course of our work (fig. 25). The capital was discovered in the cistern and has been transferred to the Ayasofya Museum.⁴⁴

All three busts are turned to the right. The front side of the capital is occupied by a figure of St. Peter (fig. 27), blessing with his right hand and holding a scroll, of polygonal cross-section, in his left. The nose is broken off, but the rest of the head is well preserved. The right eye is firmly drawn, with upward gazing pupil and the tear duct turned sharply down. To the left of Peter is an evangelist (St. John?) with a bulbous forehead, rather sparse hair and a divided beard (fig. 26). With both hands he holds a book of Gospels. The arms are disproportionately short. On the right side of the capital is the bust of another evangelist (St. Matthew?), blessing with his right hand and holding the Gospels in his left (fig. 28). He has an elongated head, hair receding on the temples and full beard. Each corner of the capital is decorated with a palm. The rear side is plain (fig. 29).

The style of carving is very close to that of the archivolt of Fenari Isa Camii (*supra*, Macridy figs. 32-39), which suggests that the capital is of approximately the same date, i.e. ca. 1300. The sculptor had little concern for

Thor diss Closters oben am Gewelb" (*Ein neue Reyssbeschreibung auss Teutschland nach Konstantinopel* [Nuremberg, 1608], p. 120f.).

⁴³ See the view of the Pammakaristos reproduced by Crusius, *Turcograecia*, p. 190, and Schweigger, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁴ Inv. No. 529. Cf. Liyuza Akin in *Ayasofya Müzesi Yıllığı*, no. 4 (1962), p. 58f.

surface finish and was content to leave merely roughed out with a toothed chisel not only the background and irregularly shaped haloes, but even some parts of the figures, for example, the left side of St. Peter's head. On the other hand, he had a remarkable feeling for masses and was able to give the heads an expression of dramatic intensity, accentuated by their broad mouths and the downward sweep of the moustache. Unquestionably, this is one of the masterpieces of late Byzantine sculpture.

The capital could have been used either in an iconostasis—in which case there would have been four capitals, each with three apostles—or in an arcosolium tomb, as in that of Demetrius Doukas in the inner narthex of Kariye Camii.⁴⁵ In either case the rear side of the capital would not have been exposed to view. There is a comparable capital in the Musée de Cluny, decorated with three busts of warrior saints,⁴⁶ and another in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, with four warrior saints.⁴⁷

2. Marble block decorated with the bust of a beardless apostle (figs. 30, 31). Over-all length 78 cm., height (incomplete at the top) 22 cm., thickness 25 cm. Found in the inner narthex of the main church, in the second bay from the north; now in the Ayasofya Museum.

The youthful apostle (Thomas or Philip) is shown, as usual, blessing with his right hand and holding a scroll in his left. His bust is placed in a circular medallion having a slightly concave ground, surrounded by a twisted cord motif. The flesh parts have a smooth finish, while the hair, arranged in thick strands, bears traces of tool marks. The eyes have no pupils. The right side of the block has been left unfinished and was clearly intended to be inserted into a wall. To the right of the medallion, in the corner formed by the projection of the unfinished part of the block, are traces of painted gesso, which suggests that the carving was originally

heightened with color. The upper side of the block has been pared down a little.

This was probably part of the entablature of an iconostasis decorated with the busts of all twelve apostles.⁴⁸ Thomas and Philip being traditionally placed at the two ends, each of them would have been next to the wall, as was indeed the case of the medallion under discussion. If we make allowance for twelve medallions, the over-all length of the entablature would have been upward of 4 m., which fits comfortably into the bema of the main church. Since a gilded *templon* with two tiers of icons and a crucifix at the top was installed by the Patriarch Jeremias II, *ca.* 1572,⁴⁹ we may imagine that the original marble iconostasis, a fragment of which is probably before us, was broken up at this time. We do not know enough about the development of late Byzantine sculpture to decide whether our piece is Comnenian or Palaeologan.

3. Fragment of a closure slab in two pieces. (90 × 90 × 7 cm.). The slab is surrounded by a molded border. In the center is a square to the corners of which four fluted *cauliculi* were attached. Acanthus leaves sprout out of each of these (fig. 34). Middle-Byzantine imitation of sixth-century work.

4. Part of the carved surround of an arch (fig. 33). Height of carved face 11 cm. The design is a very common one: compare the dome cornice of the south church of Fenari Isa Camii (*supra*, Macridy fig. 51). Probably Palaeologan.

5. Corbel decorated with a pattern of repeating acanthus palmettes (fig. 32). Over-all length 38 cm., front width 16 cm., height 9 cm. Probably intended as a support for the surround of an arcosolium tomb. Palaeologan.

Several other fragments of decorative sculpture have been found, but they do not merit detailed description.

Inscriptions

1. Small fragment (25 × 14 cm.) of a verd antique slab (fig. 35). Capital letters 5 cm. high. Fifth or sixth century.

ΠΕΡΕΥ: perhaps ὁ πῆρ εὐ[χῆς]

⁴⁸ On entablatures of this kind, see *supra*, p. 306.

⁴⁹ It is described in Crusius, *Turcograecia*, p. 184.

⁴⁵ Cf. P. A. Underwood in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 12 (1958), p. 276ff. and fig. 8.

⁴⁶ Reproduced by J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople* (London, 1961), figs. 158–160, and dated by him eleventh or twelfth century.

⁴⁷ Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures*, II (1914), No. 757, found in 1905 on the site of the Museum. Cf. also No. 758, a capital for twin colonnettes, decorated with the bust of a prophet.

2. Fragment of Proconnesian marble (33 × 24 cm.), probably belonging to a tombstone (fig. 36). Letters 4 cm. high. Sixth century.

-- A. .Ç. .AT --

-- Γαλατίας -- --

-- χω]ρίου Ἀμνίω[ν --

-- ν ἀπὸ Γαλατ[ίας or Γαλατῶν

If our interpretation of line 3 is correct, the inscription refers to a village of Amnia, probably as the birthplace of the deceased. A village of that name did exist in Paphlagonia, in the district of Gangra (Çankīrī), i.e. not far from the Galatian border.⁵⁰ Its exact site does not appear to be known. Amnia was the birthplace of the Empress Mary, wife of Constantine VI,⁵¹ and of St. Philaretos. We do not know whether the village was named after the river Amnias (Gök ırmağ) which is a tributary of the Halys and flows an appreciable distance north of Gangra.

3. Marble fragment (25 × 12 cm.) bearing a circular boss rising in three concentric steps (fig. 37). On the innermost circle is a damaged monogram consisting of the letters M, T, P, A, and O; it could be the monogram of Michael Tarchaniotes.

4. Late Byzantine epitaph (fig. 38). Eight pieces have been found in the pavement of the main church and in the north arm of the perambulatory. They have been fitted together and mounted in a frame. The resulting rectangle measures 0.90 × 0.86 m. The letters are 8 cm. high and the interlinear spaces 14 cm. wide.

Ἐνταῦθα κεῖται προσηνοῦς -- -- --
τοῦ ποιμνιάρχου χρηματίσαντος -- --
-- -- -- τῆς Μανουήλ τῆς ἐνθάδε
εὐ -- -- -- οὔτε εὐσεβοφρόν(ως).

"Here lies [the body] of the gentle . . . who served as head shepherd [of the monastery] of Manuel that is here; [pray for him, O passers by] with pious mind." The inscription is in the usual dodecasyllables, the beginning of each verse being marked by three dots placed vertically one over the other. The word ποιμνιάρχης must mean "abbot" in this

context; but it was also used for the patriarch⁵² and for bishops.⁵³ A detail of some interest: until now there has been no evidence for the existence of the monastery of Manuel after 1202.⁵⁴ Our inscription, the lettering of which cannot be earlier than the fourteenth century, proves that this monastery must have survived into the Palaeologan period.

ST. CHRYSOSTOM, KOUTSOVENDI (CYPRUS)

The monastery of St. Chrysostom is situated on the slopes of the Kyrenia mountain range, about eight miles northeast of Nicosia.⁵⁵ It is hoped to publish a full report on the mediaeval wall paintings of this monastery after their cleaning and restoration have been completed. Meanwhile, we should like to present some new evidence that came to light during our 1963 campaign bearing on the date of these paintings and of the church they decorate.

The *catholicon* of the Chrysostomos monastery consists of two connected churches (fig. 39). The south church, which is the one now used for religious services, was built in 1891 on the foundations of a mediaeval church and incorporates a few elements of the latter, viz., the three apses, some remains of *opus sectile* work in the pavement of the *bema*, and the north wall (which is common to both churches). A plan of the original south church, made shortly before its demolition,⁵⁶ shows it to have been of the inscribed octagon type, similar to the *catholicon* of the Antiphonetes monastery. The narthex had projecting apsidioles to the north and south, a feature that appears in Nea Moni, Chios, and recurs in other Cypriot churches, notably Asinou and Apsinthiotissa.⁵⁷ The foundations

⁵² Manuel Philes, ed. by Miller, II, pp. 86, 225.

⁵³ Philes, *Carmina inedita*, ed. by Martini, No. 66, 1, applies the term ποιμνιάρχης to the bishop of Strummitza.

⁵⁴ Janin, *Eglises et monastères*, p. 229.

⁵⁵ See I. D. Tsiknopoullos, 'Ἡ ἱερὰ μονὴ τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τοῦ Κουτλουβένδη καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῆς κτίσματα (Nicosia, 1959).

⁵⁶ G. Jeffery in *Proc. of the Soc. of Antiquaries*, 2nd Ser., XXVIII (1915/16), fig. 3A on p. 115.

⁵⁷ Cf. A. Papageorgiou, 'Ἡ μονὴ Ἀψινθιωτίσσης, *Report of the Dept. of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1963), fig. 1 and p. 81.

⁵⁰ "Vie de S. Philarète," ed. by Fourmy and Leroy, *Byzantion*, IX (1934), p. 135.

⁵¹ Theophanes, ed. by de Boor, p. 463, who specifies that Amnia was in the Armeniac theme.

of the north apsidal projection of the narthex are still visible. The architectural features of the original south church suggest that it could hardly have been earlier than the eleventh century; this agrees very well with the foundation date given in the Typicon of the monastery, viz., 1090/1, or, to be more precise, December 9, 1090.⁵⁸ The founder was a certain abbot George.⁵⁹

The present south church, a building altogether devoid of artistic merit, contains, however, some interesting decorative elements of mediaeval date, among them two marble door frames⁶⁰ and an inlaid wooden door. It also contains a fine set of icons. We take this opportunity of making more widely known the oldest of these icons which we have cleaned and repaired (fig. 40).⁶¹ It is painted on a single board measuring 67 by 39 cm. which has been trimmed on both sides and along the bottom. The board serves as backing for a sheet of canvas which was

treated, as usual, with gesso, and on which the colors were laid. The icon represents an angel in half figure. He is dressed in a faded pink tunic with clavus and collar, and a dark green cloak. In his left hand he holds a red staff. The wings are brown, with the feathers outlined in black. Round his head is a raised halo in gesso, ornamented with a rinceau pattern. In the top corners are faint traces of an inscription in red: ὁ[γ]γε[λ]ος κ(υ)ρί(ο)υ. There is an area of loss on the left shoulder showing a lower stratum of paint with ochre lines. The style, with strong linear modelling of the flesh, is late Comnenian. Angels of similar appearance, with the same disproportionately small hands and the characteristic hair-band ornamented with a red jewel, are to be found among the paintings in the Enkleistra of St. Neophytus, of the late twelfth century. The tooled halo is, of course, a western feature: haloes of identical design are, however, found on "Crusader" icons of the thirteenth century in the monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai.⁶² We should like to suggest that our icon is also of the thirteenth century, possibly painted over an earlier one.

The north church, which was added to the original south church, is a Byzantine building of great simplicity and charm. It is covered with a single dome supported on four piers that are engaged into the north and south walls. The walls are built largely of brick, a rare phenomenon in Cypriot architecture and in itself suggestive of outside influence. The plan of the church is noticeably asymmetrical as a result of having been adapted to the projecting narthex of the south church.⁶³ The north church, too, had a narthex, of which only the arcaded north wall remains.

In 1735, when it was visited by the Russian pilgrim Grigorovič Barskij, the north church was still nearly intact, except for some damage to its rich marble work. Barskij specifically refers to the wall paintings that decorated the church from top to bottom.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ *Cod. Paris. gr. 402*, fol. 56^{r-v} (December 9): 'Η σύλληψις τῆς ἀγ(ίας) καὶ θεομήτ(ο)ρ(ος) Ἀννης (sic) καὶ τὰ ἐγκαίνια τοῦ θείου ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν ἀγ(ιο)ῖς π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς ἡμῶν Ἰω(άννου) τοῦ Χρ(υσοστόμου) τοῦ ἱδρυθέντος (sic) ἐν Κύπρ(ω) κατὰ τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Κουτλουβέντι ἐν ἔτει ρφθ' οὗ τῶ ἐντωθρονισμῶ (sic) κατετέθησα(ν) λείψαν(α) τοῦ ἀγίου μ(ά)ρ(τυ)ρος Προκοπίου καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου μ(ά)ρ(τυ)ρος Ἰακώβου τοῦ Πέρσου καὶ τῆς ἀγ(ίας) μ(ά)ρ(τυ)ρος Μαρίνας. The existence of this Typicon was kindly brought to our attention by Mr. I. D. Tsiknopoulos; it is not mentioned in the survey of Cypriot manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale and other libraries by J. Darrouzès in *Rev. ét. byz.*, VIII (1950), p. 162 ff.; XV (1957), p. 131 ff.; Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί, XVII (1953), p. 81 ff.; XX (1956), p. 31 ff.; XXII (1958), p. 221 ff.; XXIII (1959), p. 27 ff.

⁵⁹ *Cod. Paris. gr. 402*, fol. 146^r (April 26): Ἰστέον ὅτι κ(α)τ(ά) ταύτην τὴν ἡμέ(ραν) ἐπιτελοῦμεν τὰ μνημόσυν(α) τοῦ ἀγ(ίου) π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς ἡμ(ῶν) καὶ καθηγητῆ (sic) ἡγουμένου Γεωργ(ίου) τοῦ κτήτορος τῆς ἐν Κύπρ(ω) ἀγίας μονῆς τοῦ Χρ(υσοστόμου).

⁶⁰ A third door frame of matching design has recently been used to enclose the west entrance of the north church. Originally all three frames belonged to the narthex (of the north church?). They were seen in 1738 by Richard Pococke who observes that they "do not seem to be very antient:" *A Description of the East, and Some Other Countries*, II, pt. 1 (London, 1745), p. 222.

⁶¹ Not mentioned by D. Talbot Rice *et al.*, *The Icons of Cyprus* (London, 1937), who, however, discuss three other icons of more recent date belonging to St. Chrysostom's monastery (p. 243, No. 89; p. 266, No. 139; p. 274, No. 152).

⁶² See K. Weitzmann in *Art Bulletin*, XLV (1963), p. 179 ff. and figs. 5, 6, 7, 22.

⁶³ This peculiarity does not appear on the rather inaccurate ground plan published by G. A. Soteriou, *Τὰ βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Κύπρου* (Athens, 1935), p. 45.

⁶⁴ *Stranstvovaniia Vasil'ja Grigoroviča-Bars-*

The same observation was made in 1738 by Richard Pococke.⁶⁵ By 1760/67, however, the north church had been converted into a shelter for animals,⁶⁶ and it was, as a result, "abandoned to squalid neglect."⁶⁷ True, some attempt was made to support the collapsing structure by means of a massive external buttress,⁶⁸ by filling up the two lateral recesses of the western bay of the nave, and by reinforcing the four central piers. The apse, however, caved in and most of the wall paintings disappeared except in those areas that had been covered up with added masonry. Finally, the Cyprus Department of Antiquities in collaboration with the abbot of the monastery⁶⁹ took in hand the structural repair of the north church, and this work was expertly completed in 1958.⁷⁰

Upon commencing the cleaning and restoration of the remaining wall paintings, our attention was attracted by two painted inscriptions at the foot of the northeast and southeast piers, i.e., to the left and right of the *bema*. Both inscriptions were covered with a coating of extremely hard plaster which we had great trouble in removing. The inscription on the southeast pier has fortunately survived almost intact (fig. 41). It is conceived in iambic trimeters, and reads as follows:

kago, ed. by N. Barsukov, II (St. Petersburg, 1886), p. 246f.

⁶⁵ *Loc. cit.* (note 60, *supra*). Pococke's description is repeated almost verbatim by Mrs. [E. A. M.] Lewis, *A Lady's Impressions of Cyprus in 1893* (London, 1894), p. 327. It is unlikely that much of the wall paintings was visible in 1893.

⁶⁶ Giovanni Mariti, *Travels in the Island of Cyprus*, trans. by C. D. Cobham (Cambridge, 1909), p. 57f.

⁶⁷ G. Jeffery, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1918), p. 273.

⁶⁸ The buttress, which has now been removed, was built against the east end of the north wall.

⁶⁹ Much of the credit for the conscientious and tasteful restoration of the monastery is due to its abbot, the Very Rev. Onouphrios, Exarch of the Holy Sepulchre in Cyprus. We should like to express our warmest thanks to him for the cordial reception we enjoyed in the monastery.

⁷⁰ For details of the repairs, see *Annual Report of the Director of Antiquities for the Year 1956* (Nicosia, 1957), p. 15, No. 42; Report for 1957 (Nicosia, 1958), p. 13, No. 28; Report for 1958 (Nicosia, 1959), p. 15, No. 32; Report for 1959 (Nicosia, 1960), p. 16, No. 47.

† Τὴν ἐν προσώπο[ις] τρι[σὶ] προσκυ-
[νουμένῃ]ν

[ἄν]αρχον ἀρχήν, ὑπεράρχιον φύσιν,
ἄμαχον ἀλκήν, ὑπερούσιον μόνην,
ποθῶν σφόδρα σε δοῦξ Κύπρου Φιλο-
[κάλ[ης]

5 Εὐμάθιος πρώτιστος νω[βε]λλισίμων,
βάθρων ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὸν νεῶν ἡγειρέ σοι
πρὸς ἐξιλασμόν ᾧν κακῶς παρεσφάλη.

That is: "Loving Thee greatly, O Thou Who art worshipped in three persons—principle without beginning, nature primordial, might invincible, alone transcending all substance—the *dux* of Cyprus Eumathius Philocales, the very first among the *nobilissimi*, built unto Thee this church from the very foundations to expiate the wicked actions that he has erred in committing."

The inscription is in capital letters 5 cm. high bearing both accents and breathings; the interlinear spaces are 3 cm. wide. The lettering is in white paint on a blue background. The entire panel occupied by the inscription is 67 cm. high and 89 wide.

The inscription on the northeast pier (fig. 42) must have conveyed nearly the same information judging by the few words that survive:

..... νᾱ(λ?)..

..... ε(ς?)τριᾶς.....

[..... νε]ῶν ἀνῆγειρα.....

[Εὐ]μάθ[ι]ος δοῦξ Κ[ύ]πρου.....]

5 ... νωβελλισίμων.....

... λοιπὸν ε.χ.....

There can be no doubt that these inscriptions are contemporary not only, as they themselves indicate, with the construction of the church, but also with its painted decoration.

Eumathius Philocales is well known as a successful military commander in the reign of Alexius I (1081-1118).⁷¹ Anna Comnena, who held him in high esteem, describes him in the following terms:

"This Philocales Eumathius was a most energetic man who surpassed most of the nobility not only by birth but also by pru-

⁷¹ His career has been discussed by Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, I (Cambridge, 1949), p. 299ff.; A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin* (Paris, 1951), p. 197ff.; R. Guiland in *BZ*, XLIV (1951), p. 224f.

dence; liberal in mind and hand, faithful to God and to his friends, singularly devoted to his masters, he was, however, altogether uninitiated in military training; for he knew neither how to draw the string of the bow to his breast nor how to protect himself with a shield. In other respects, however, he was very skilful, as in setting ambushes and worsting the enemy by means of various devices."⁷²

Of his family little is known. Its rise to prominence may have been due to the Philocales who, born a simple villager, rose to the ranks of *hebdomadarios*, *koitonites*, and finally *provestiarios*, and appropriated to himself his native village. His ill-got acquisitions were, however, confiscated by the Emperor Basil II, and Philocales was himself demoted to his former status: such is the story quoted as a cautionary example in the famous *novella* of 996.⁷³ Around 1065 we hear of an Andronicus Philocales, *katepano* of Bulgaria,⁷⁴ and in 1092 of the *protonobilissimos* Manuel Philocales;^{74a} in the following century of a Philocales (Christian name unknown) who commanded a contingent of the Byzantine army during the Hungarian campaign of 1167;⁷⁵ and of a second Eumathius Philocales, a very rich man who was prefect of Constantinople under Alexius III Angelus and was sent in 1196/97 on an embassy to the German Emperor Henry VI.⁷⁶ The latter is certainly

the same as the Philocales or Philocalios who was father-in-law of Alexius Ducas Murtzuphlus and was appointed by him *logothete* τῶν σεκρέτων upon the dismissal from that post of the historian Nicetas Choniates (1204).⁷⁷ There exists also a seal of a Michael Philocales, *proedros* and *mystikos*, who is otherwise unknown.⁷⁸

The Eumathius with whom we are concerned first appears in history in 1092 when, following the suppression of the Cypriot revolt led by one Rhapsomates, he was appointed military commander of the island with the title of *stratopedarch* and was given sufficient ships and cavalry to maintain security.⁷⁹ The appellation *stratopedarch* does not appear to have denoted a specific rank at this period;⁸⁰ so we may assume that Eumathius was invested with an extraordinary command. Soon thereafter he must have been appointed *dux*, i.e., regular governor of the province of Cyprus, for he is mentioned as such (τὸν Εὐμάθιον δοῦκα Κύπρου τῷ τότε ὑπάρχοντα), ca. 1099, when he was directed by the emperor to occupy the towns of Marqiyē and Banyas on the Syrian coast.⁸¹ Also in 1099 Eumathius beat off the Pisan fleet which had descended on Cyprus to pillage.⁸² In 1103, however, at the time of the Byzantine expedition into Cilicia,⁸³ the *dux* of Cyprus was no longer Eumathius but another famous general, Constantine Euphorbenus Catacalon.⁸⁴ In 1105 or shortly before,⁸⁵ "the *sebastos*

⁷² *Alexiad*, XIV. i. 3, ed. by Leib, III, p. 142.

⁷³ Zepos and Zepos, *Jus graecoromanum*, I (Athens, 1931), p. 265.

⁷⁴ Cecaumenus, *Strategicon*, § 181, ed. by Wassiliewsky and Jernstedt (St. Petersburg, 1896), p. 72. Cf. N. Bănescu, *Les duchés byzantins de Paristrion (Paradounavon) et la Bulgarie* (Bucharest, 1946), p. 144; P. Lemerle, *Prolégomènes à une édition critique et commentée des "Conseils et Récits" de Kékauménos*, Acad. Roy. de Belgique, Cl. des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques, *Mémoires*, LIV/1 (1960), p. 22, note.

^{74a} PG, 127, col. 972D. He appears again in 1094 in connection with the conspiracy of Nicephorus Diogenes: *Alexiad*, IX. v. 2, ed. by Leib, II, p. 170.

⁷⁵ Cinnamus, Bonn ed., p. 271. Cf. Chalandon, *Jean II Comnène et Manuel I Comnène* (Paris, 1912), p. 489.

⁷⁶ Nicetas Choniates, Bonn ed., p. 630f.; Theodoros Skutariotes, *Synopsis chronike* in Sathas, *Bibl. gr. med. aevi*, VII, p. 419. Cf. Dölger, *Regesten*, No. 1638.

⁷⁷ Nicetas, p. 749; Theodoros Skutariotes, p. 445.

⁷⁸ V. Laurent, *La collection C. Orghidan* (Paris, 1952), No. 78.

⁷⁹ *Alexiad*, IX. ii. 4, ed. by Leib, II, p. 164.

⁸⁰ Cf. R. Guiland in *BZ*, XLVI (1953), pp. 67, 85.

⁸¹ *Alexiad*, XI. vii. 4, ed. by Leib, III, p. 34. On the chronology, see Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène* (Paris, 1900), p. 208ff.

⁸² *Alexiad*, XI. x. 6, ed. by Leib, III, p. 44. Cf. S. Runicman, *A History of the Crusades*, I (Cambridge, 1951), p. 300.

⁸³ See Chalandon, *Alexis I^{er}*, p. 234.

⁸⁴ *Alexiad*, XI. ix. 3, ed. by Leib, III, p. 41. Cf. Mrs. G. Buckler in *Archaeologia*, LXXXIII (1933), p. 347.

⁸⁵ Cf. Ducange, *Familiae augustae byzantinae*, p. 179. The exact date of the marriage is not known, but it could not have taken place later than 1105, since in 1106 Irene gave birth to twins, Alexius and Maria: *Alexiad*, XII. iv. 4, ed. by Leib, III, p. 66.

Eumathius Philocales whose wide experience, whose energy in the conduct of affairs and whose ability are known to nearly everyone," was sent to the Hungarian court to escort to Constantinople Piriska, the daughter of King Ladislav, who, under the name of Irene, was to marry John II Comnenus.⁸⁶ We find Eumathius still at Constantinople *ca.* 1108/9 when, on his own demand, he was entrusted by the emperor with the task of restoring order and prosperity on the coast of Asia Minor between Smyrna and Attalia, an area that had been devastated by the Turks. Eumathius proceeded from Constantinople to Abydos and thence to Atramytion (Edremit), which he found in ruins and thereupon had rebuilt and repopled. Having savagely massacred the Turks who lived at Lampe (near Ulubad), Eumathius went on to Philadelphia where he was attacked by Hasan, Turkish emir of Cappadocia. In spite of the numerical superiority of the Turks, Eumathius succeeded in defeating their forces piecemeal and in forcing their retreat.⁸⁷ These events probably took place in 1109/10.⁸⁸

In 1112 Eumathius appears once more as *dux* of Cyprus. In that year the emperor, in an effort of winning Antioch (which was held by Tancred), sent a diplomatic mission to obtain the support of Baldwin I of Jerusalem and the other Latin princes in Palestine. The Byzantine ambassador Butumites was instructed to proceed to Cyprus and to obtain ships and large sums of money from Eumathius Philocales (τὸν τηνικαῦτα δοῦκα Κύπρου Εὐμάθιον τὸν Φιλοκάλην).⁸⁹ The money was to be used to bribe the Latin princes. After wasting several months in the Holy Land, the ambassador met with no success. He even had great difficulty in recovering the money which he had meanwhile deposited in the episcopal palace of Tripoli. At length the money was delivered back to Eumathius and was used for the purchase of thoroughbred horses from Damascus, Edessa, and Arabia.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Theodoros Skutariotes, *Synopsis chronike*, p. 181f.

⁸⁷ *Alexiad*, XIV. i. 2ff., ed. by Leib, III, p. 142ff.

⁸⁸ Cf. Chalandon, *Alexis Ier*, p. 255f.

⁸⁹ *Alexiad*, XIV. ii. 6, ed. by Leib, III, p. 148.

⁹⁰ *Alexiad*, XIV. ii. 14, ed. by Leib, III, p. 154. Cf. Chalandon, *op. cit.*, p. 252f.

By 1118 Eumathius was no longer in Cyprus: he was serving as grand duke and praetor of the combined themes of Hellas and Peloponnese. A document of that year, dated August 25, concerning a dispute over water rights in a village of Crete, states that the matter in litigation was brought before the court of the *katepano* of Crete representing "our lord, the *pansebastos sebastos*, grand duke and praetor, Eumathius Philocales."⁹¹ This, if we are not mistaken, is the last we hear of Eumathius.

We may conclude from the above evidence that Eumathius served twice as *dux* of Cyprus: the first time from after 1092 until 1103 (or before), the second time from *ca.* 1110 until before 1118. To which of these two tenures do the inscriptions of the Chrysostomos monastery pertain?

For the time being this problem remains unresolved, although there exist certain clues which may eventually lead to a more exact dating of the inscriptions. At the time when he built the north church Eumathius, as we have seen, held the dignity of *protonobilissimos*, a very high dignity indeed, first instituted toward the middle of the eleventh century.⁹² If it were possible to determine at what stage in his career Eumathius attained this dignity, we would have a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the north church. Here we must consider some further evidence. Eliminating from the *dossier* a Cretan inscription erroneously ascribed to our Eumathius,⁹³ we are left with a group of lead seals bearing the following legends:⁹⁴

⁹¹ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca*, VI (1890), p. 95ff.

⁹² See F. Dölger, *Byzantinische Diplomatie* (Ettal, 1956), p. 26ff.

⁹³ The inscription was published by S. N. Marinatos in 'Επετ. 'Εταιρ. Βυλ. Σπουδῶν, VII (1930), p. 388ff. The attribution to Eumathius Philocales has been rightly rejected by V. Laurent in *Byzantion*, VI (1931), p. 801f. and D. Zakythenos in 'Επετ. 'Εταιρ. Βυλ. Σπουδῶν, XVII (1941), p. 265f.

⁹⁴ See Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1884), pp. 188ff., 691f.; N. Bees in *Vizant. Vrem.*, XXI, pt. 3 (1914), p. 229ff.; V. Laurent, *Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie byzantine* (Athens, 1932), Nos. 147, 522, 531. An incomplete specimen of the third seal was incorrectly completed by A. Mordtmann (*Rev. archéol.*, XXXIV [1877], p. 49, No. 20) as

1. Τοῦ Φιλοκάλλους Εὐμαθίου μαγίστρου.
2. Εὐμάθιον σκέποις με κουροπαλάτ(ην)
τὸν Φιλοκάλ(ην), μήτερ ἀγνή τοῦ
Λόγου.
3. Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Εὐμαθίω μεγάλω
δουκί (καί)
πραίτορι Ἑλλάδος(καί) Πελοποννήσου)
τῷ Φιλοκάλη.
4. Τὸν Φιλοκάλη, μήτερ ἀγ(νή), σὸν
λάτ(ρ)ι(ν)
σεβαστὸ(ν) Εὐμάθιον ἀναγ[νώριζε].

Since, as we have said, at least two persons named Eumathius Philocales are known from the narrative sources, there arises some uncertainty concerning the attribution of these seals. The elder Eumathius can undoubtedly claim No. 3 and probably No. 4; he was also, if we may rely on Laurent,⁹⁵ the owner of No. 1. As for No. 2, it may have belonged to either one of the two homonyms.

We must bear in mind the fact that Byzantine titlature underwent a profound change in the eleventh century following the widespread sale of dignities and offices that started in the reign of Michael IV and continued unabated under his successors. The depreciation of the old titles, even some of the highest, brought about the creation of a host of new ones. The correspondence between an official's court title or rank (what used to be known as ἀξία διὰ βραβείων) and his actual office became extremely haphazard. Some stabilization of the hierarchy was achieved by the Comnenian emperors, but the absence for this period of an official handbook of precedence, such as we have for the ninth century, makes the scholar's task difficult. As far as we can ascertain, the honorific titles borne by Eumathius may be arranged in the following ascending order: *magistros*, *curopa-*

lates (if he ever held this title), *protonobilissimos*, *sebastos*.⁹⁶

We have seen that by 1118 Eumathius was styled *sebastos* or *pansebastos sebastos* which apparently meant the same thing.⁹⁷ This represents the peak of his *cursus honorum*. Now, if we could rely on the statement that the Hungarian mission of ca. 1105 was entrusted to the *sebastos* Eumathius (see *supra*), we would have to conclude that the north church was built during Eumathius' first tenure as governor of Cyprus, or ca. 1100. However, we may be unwise in interpreting

⁹⁶ The fullest discussion of the hierarchy of dignities in the eleventh century (before the accession of the Comneni) is by N. Skabalanovič, *Vizantijskoe gosudarstvo i cerkov' v XI veke* (St. Petersburg, 1884), p. 149 ff. E. Stein is mistaken in holding that in the Comnenian period the dignity of *curopalates* was higher than that of *protonobilissimos*: "Untersuchungen zur spät-byzant. Verfassungs- u. Wirtschaftsgeschichte," *Mitt. zur Osman. Gesch.*, II (1923/5), p. 31. See, e.g., the order of precedence at the conciliar session of 1092, which lists the following dignities in descending order: *protosebastos*, *sebastos*, *protonobilissimos*, *nobilissimos*, *protocuropalates*, *curopalates*, etc. (PG, 127, col. 972 f.). The title *magistros*, which in the ninth century was the fourth highest in the hierarchy, had sunk to seventh place by the middle of the eleventh century (Skabalanovič, *op. cit.*, p. 153). In the reign of Alexius I it was borne by provincial judges and tax assessors: see, e.g., Miklosich and Müller, VI, p. 55; Rouillard and Collomp, *Actes de Lavra*, I (Paris, 1937), No. 43, 1, p. 118. The debasement of this dignity explains its gradual disappearance after the time of Alexius I. This institutional development deserves the notice of archaeologists: thus the *magistros* Nicephorus Ischyrios, founder of the church at Asinou (1105/6), was by no means as important a person as has been supposed, and he certainly should not be identified with Nicephorus Catacalon, son-in-law of Alexius I. This fanciful identification is due to Mrs. Buckler (in *Archaeologia*, LXXXIII [1933], p. 346 ff.) and has since gained general currency; so, e.g., R. Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus* (London, 1936), p. 182; A. and J. Stylianou in *Jahrb. d. Österr. Byz. Ges.*, IX (1960), p. 98. Nicephorus Ischyrios was probably no more important a man than the *magistros* Nicephorus Kasnitzes who at about the same time founded the church of St. Nicholas at Kastoria: A. Orlandos, 'Αρχαῖον τῶν βυζ. μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, IV/2 (1938), p. 142 ff.

⁹⁷ This is shown by a comparison of the lists of attendance at the conciliar sessions of March 2 and March 6, 1166 (PG, 140, cols. 236 f., 252 f.). Cf. L. Stiernon in *Rev. ét. byz.*, XIX (1961), p. 282.

(Εὐμαθίω μαγίστρ)ω μεγάλω δουκί καὶ πραιτῶρι Ἑλλάδος(ος) καὶ Πελοποννήσου) τῷ Φιλοκάλη. Cf. Bees, *loc. cit.* Indeed, by the time Philocales was grand duke, he held a much higher rank than that of *magistros*. We see no reason to attribute to Philocales, as several scholars have done, another seal, reading Εὐ(....)θ(ίω) βασιλικ(ῶ) πρωτοσπαθ(α)ρ(ίω) ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρυσοστρικλίνου μυστι(ο)γράφῳ κριτ(ῇ) ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου) Πελοπον(νή)σου καὶ Ἑλλάδος(ος). The discussion of the above seals by Bon and Guiland (see *supra*, note 71) is rather misleading.

⁹⁵ *Les bulles métriques*, No. 531.

so literally a statement contained in a thirteenth-century compilation. Besides, it is quite natural to refer to a man by the highest rank he has attained; we might say for example, that the Duke of Wellington won the battle of Talavera although, in fact, he was created duke five years after winning this particular battle. There is also something to be said in favor of ascribing the north church to Eumathius' second governorship. Might he not have been made *protobilissimos* after his victorious campaign in Asia Minor (1109/10), in the same way that Constantine Catacalon was made *nobilissimos* after he had defeated the Cumans in 1094?⁹⁸ And is it not possible that the sins which Eumathius was expiating by building the church were his high-handed actions which, as we shall see in a moment, contributed in or about 1111 to the resignation of Nicholas Mouzalon from the archbishopric of Cyprus?⁹⁹ Whichever of the two possibilities proves to be the correct one, it is in any case clear that the north church was built fairly soon—at the most twenty-five years—after the construction of the south church.

Despite his devotion to the emperor, Eumathius was regarded with hatred in ecclesiastical circles. On an unspecified occasion, perhaps between his two tenures as governor of Cyprus, Eumathius (Εὐμάθιος δούξ ὁ Φιλοκάλης) paid a visit to St. Cyril Phileotes in the Thracian village of Philea, some forty miles northwest of Constantinople. Eumathius, we are told, was lame in both legs and hoped to be cured by the saintly hermit. He did not expect to be greeted with the following words: "Why hast thou come here, thou

lone wolf, who hast no fear or respect for the shepherd and his dogs, and mercilessly rendest the flock asunder?" At length, the saint was mollified and effected the desired cure.¹⁰⁰ A much more savage invective against Eumathius is contained in a prolix poem by Nicholas Mouzalon justifying the author's resignation from the archiepiscopal see of Cyprus. Though not mentioned by name, Eumathius is designated therein by a transparent pun (ὁ μὲν τίς ἐστὶν εὐμαθὴς εἰς κακίαν). He is condemned for his financial exactions and interference in affairs of the Church; Mouzalon paints him as a veritable Beelzebub, "the lord of darkness and of them that live in darkness."¹⁰¹ It is not perhaps too far-fetched to imagine that Mouzalon's abdication created a considerable stir and that Eumathius sought to repair his own bad standing by the construction of a church.

To give some idea of the exceptional quality of the wall paintings decorating the north church, we reproduce two specimens: the first, as yet uncleaned, is a splendid figure of the prophet Moses on the east face of the northwest pier (fig. 43). Note, incidentally, that the character of the lettering on the prophet's scroll (the legend is adapted from Deut. 28:66) is identical with that of the two inscriptions we have been discussing. The second specimen (after cleaning) is in a more usual hieratic style and decorates the west reveal of the window in the left-hand recess of the western bay (fig. 44). This fresco is labelled 'Ο ἄ(γιος) Γρηγόριος ὁ ἀρχ(ι)ἐπίσκοπος τ[ῶ]ν Ὁμηριτῶν. Actually, this saint's correct name was Gregentius and he was bishop of the Himyarites of southern Arabia in the sixth century.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ *Alexiad*, X. iii. 1, ed. by Leib, II, p. 194f. This raises a small problem. We have seen that Catacalon was *dux* of Cyprus between the two tenures of Eumathius, viz., in 1103. Yet, one of his published seals is inscribed: Σφράγισμα δουκὸς τῆς Κύπρου Κωνσταντίνου | Κατακαλῶν γνῶριζε κουροπαλάτην (V. Laurent, *La collection C. Orghidan*, No. 205). The dignity of *curopalates* being lower than that of *nobilissimos*, are we to infer that Catacalon, too, was twice governor of Cyprus, the first time before 1094?

⁹⁹ Nicephorus Callistus says that Mouzalon was in retirement thirty-seven years before he became patriarch of Constantinople (in December 1147): PG, 147, col. 461D. He does not seem to have held the see of Cyprus for very long.

¹⁰⁰ See Kh. Loparev in *Vizant. Vrem.*, IV (1897), p. 385f.; incomplete extract in M. Gedeon, *Βυζαντινὸν ἑορτολόγιον* (Constantinople, 1899), p. 310. The full text of St. Cyril's life (*BHG*, 468) is as yet unpublished.

¹⁰¹ Text ed. by S. I. Doanidou in *Ἑλληνικά*, VII (1934), p. 109ff. See verses 41 ff., 356 ff., and F. Dölger's remarks in *BZ*, XXXV (1935), p. 8f.

¹⁰² See A. Vasiliev in *Vizant. Vrem.*, XIV (1907), p. 23ff., who quotes other instances of Gregentius' being incorrectly called Gregory. Cf. also *Synax. eccles. CP*, ed. by Delehaye, col. 328ff.

ADDENDUM

Fethiye Camii

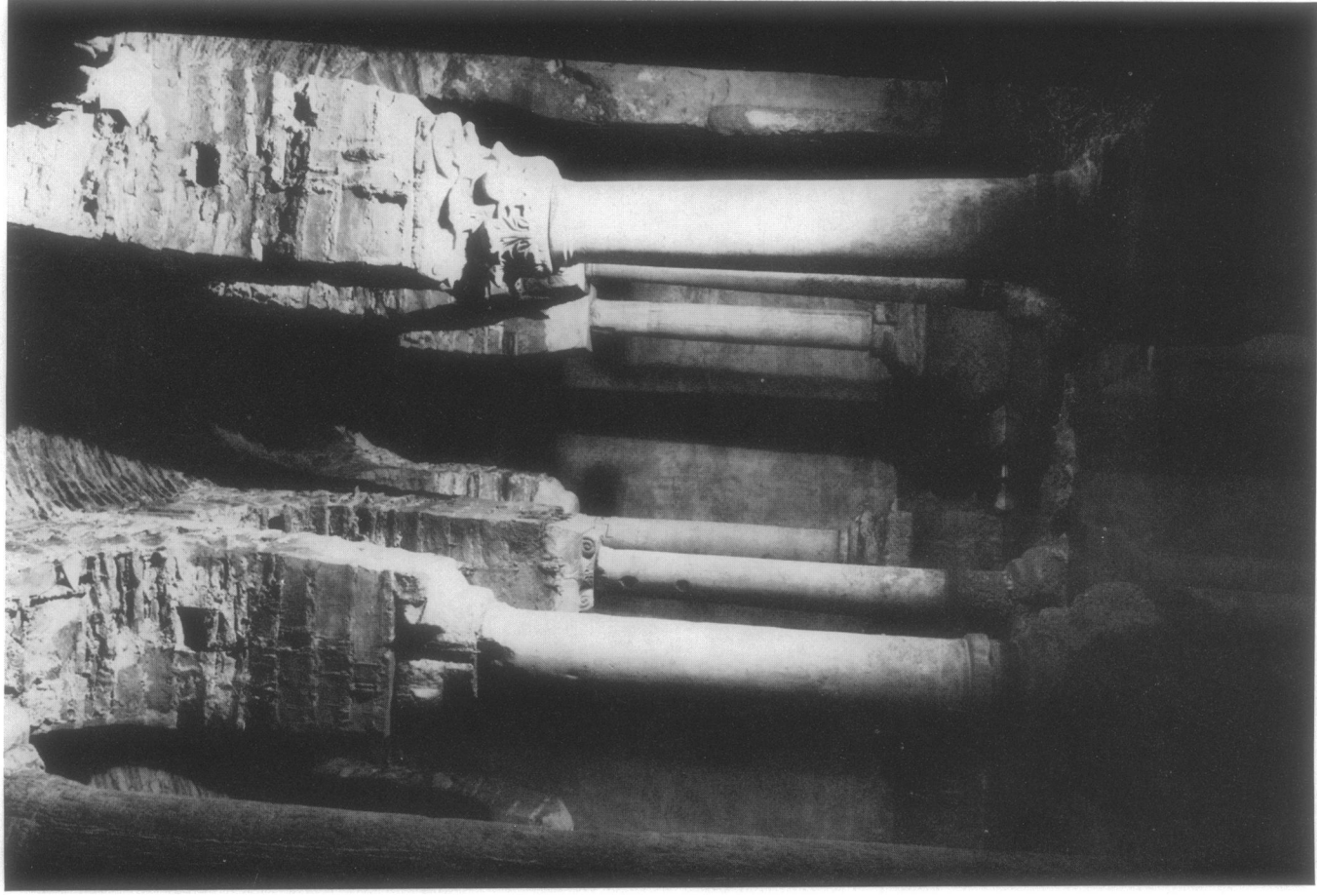
While this Report was in press we received the very thorough study by H. Hallensleben, "Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte der ehemaligen Pammakaristoskirche, der heutigen Fethiye camii in Istanbul," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, XIII/XIV (1963/4), pp. 128–193. Dr. Hallensleben's conclusions concerning the history of the structure differ from ours on several important issues. We hope to discuss his views in the near future.

An interesting account of the Pammakaristos shortly before it was converted into a mosque is contained in the Travels of Reinhold Lubenau: *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau*, ed. by W. Sahm, I/2 (*Mitt. aus der Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg i. Pr.*, V [1914]), p. 172ff.

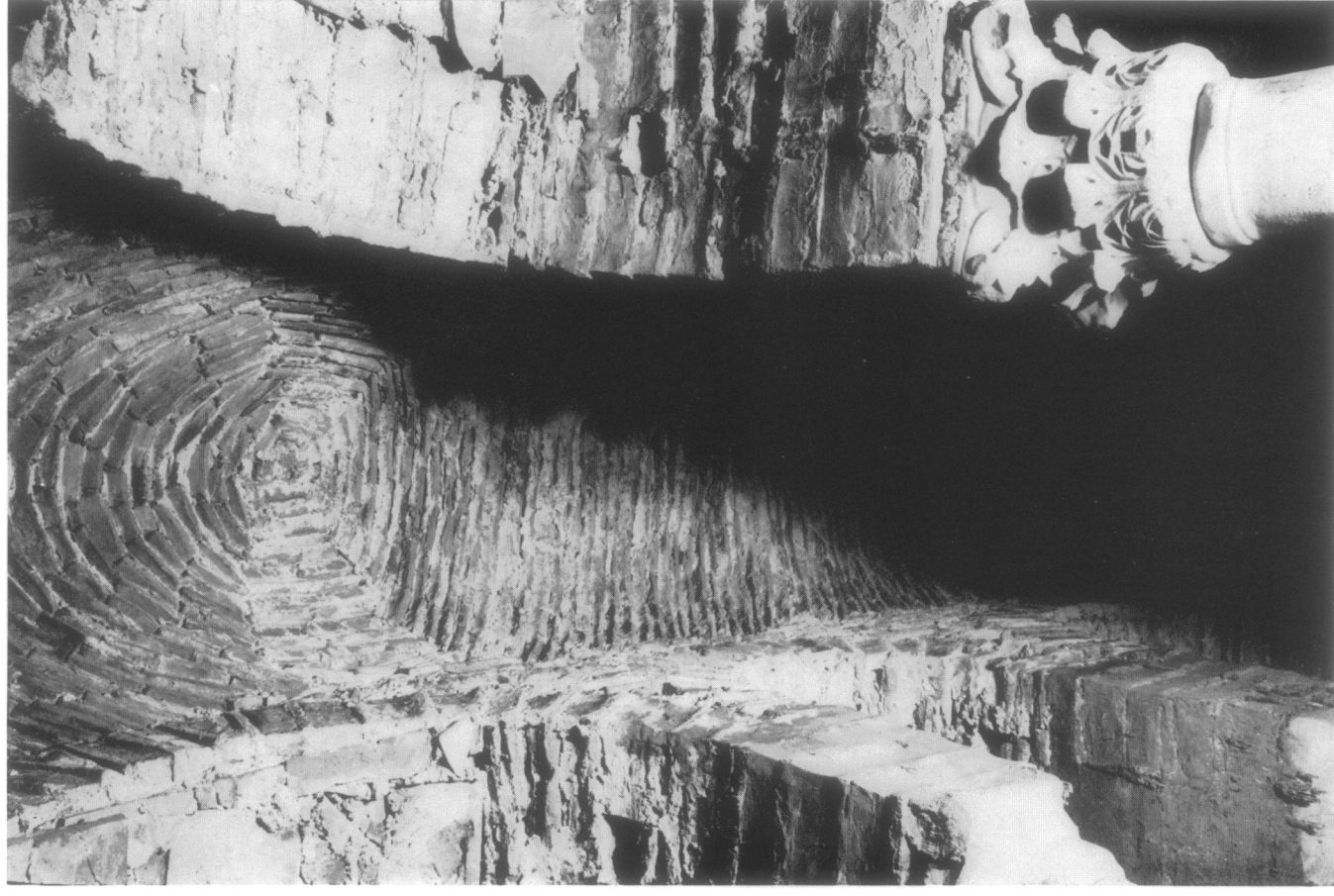
St. Chrysostom

The career of Eumathius Philocales has recently been discussed by V. Laurent, *Les*

sceaux byzantins du médaillier Vatican (Vatican City, 1962), p. 55ff., whose conclusions are in general agreement with ours. A few points are worth noting: 1. Contrary to his earlier opinion, Laurent now believes that all the seals of a Eumathius Philocales pertain to the general of Alexius I. 2. Laurent suggests that Philocales was present at the conciliar meeting of 1092, at which time he allegedly held the post of judge and the rank of *curopalates*: this, however, is not so, since the person in question (family name not given) was called Euthymius, not Eumathius (PG, 127, col. 973A = Mansi, XX, col. 1104D). 3. There exists an unpublished seal of Eumathius Philocales with the titles of *protonobilissimos* and *dux* (Fogg Art Museum, Whittemore Collection, No. 584), i.e., the very same ones as in the inscriptions of St. Chrysostom. Laurent dates this seal before 1105 (date of the Hungarian mission), but the reservations expressed by us (*supra*, p. 338) remain valid.



1. Cistern under Nave, looking East



2. Vaulting of Cistern

Fethiye Camii



3. Column in Cistern



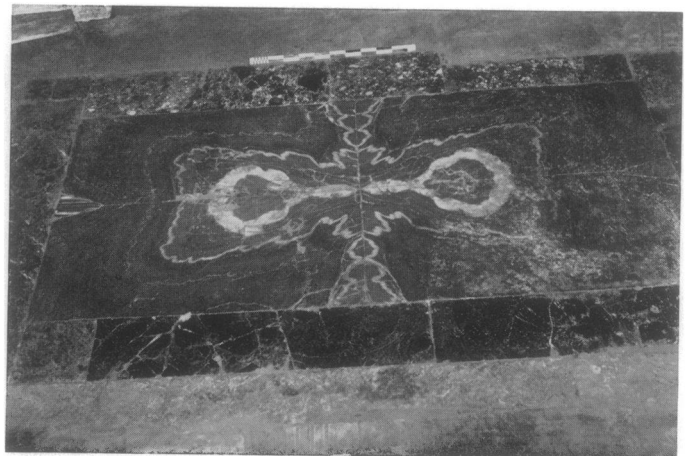
4. Capital in Cistern



5. Main Church, Cornice in Bema

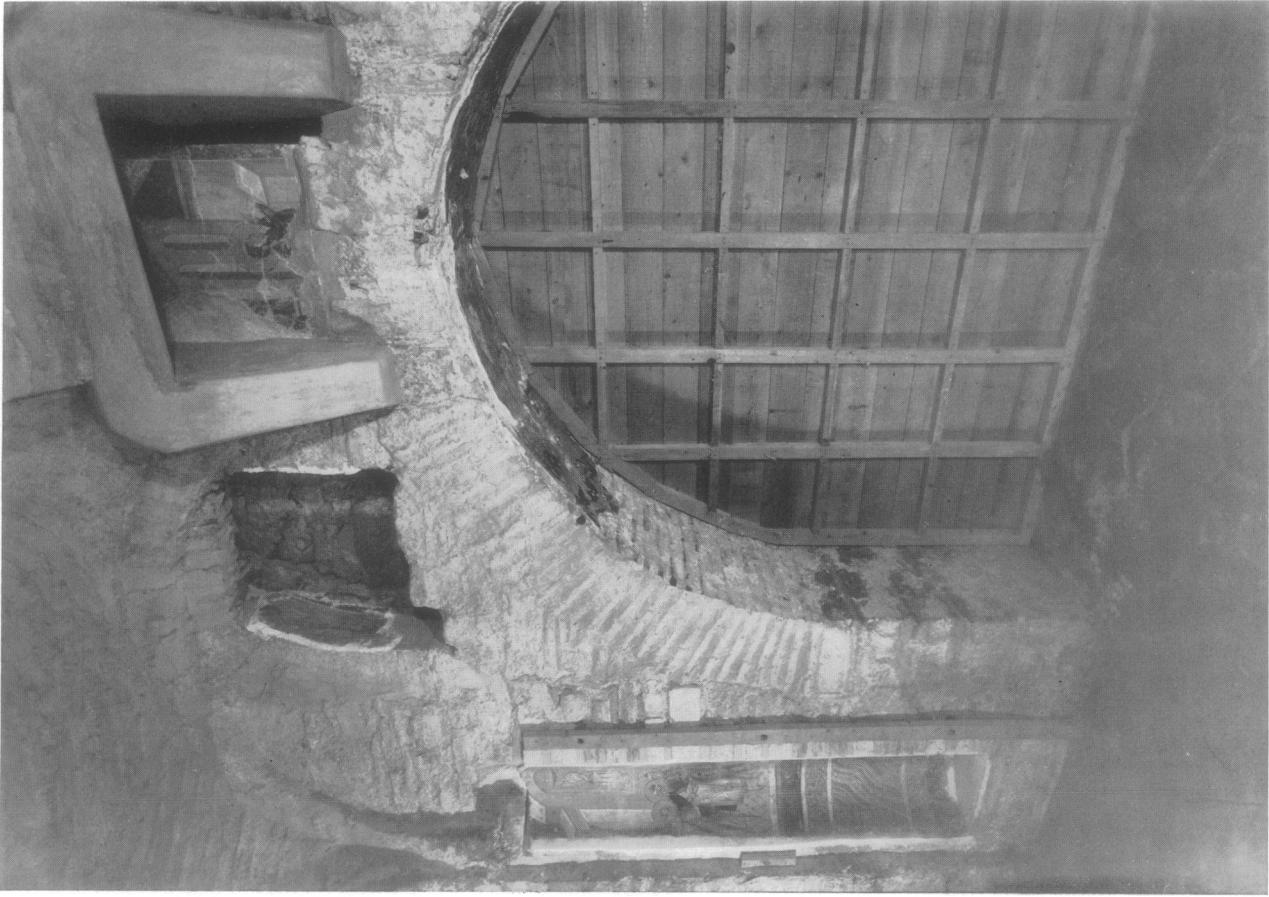


6. Main Church, Central Square, looking West



7. Main Church, Central West Bay, Matched Marble Panel

Fethiye Camii



8.

Fethiye Camii, Perambulatory, South Arm, North Wall



9.



10. "Closed Door" Fresco



11. "Closed Door" Fresco, detail



12. Fresco of the " Virgin Praying in Her House"



13.
Fethiye Camii. Fresco of the "Virgin Praying in Her House," details



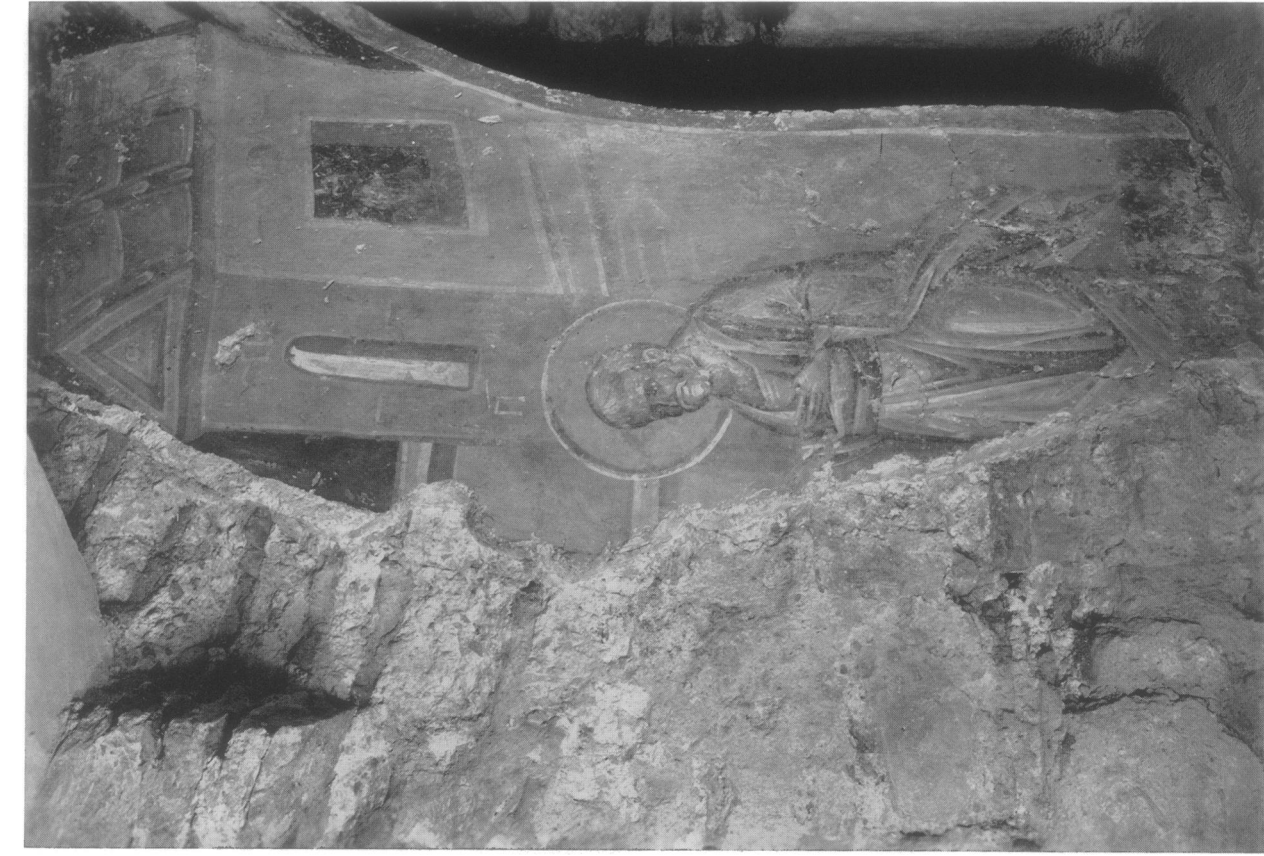
14.



15. Ornament on Pier in Large Semicircular Window



16. Ornament in Soffit of Large Semicircular Window
Fethiye Camii. South Comnenian Façade



17. St. Peter Fresco



18. St. Peter Fresco, detail

Fethiye Camii



19. St. Peter Fresco, showing Façade of Parecclesion



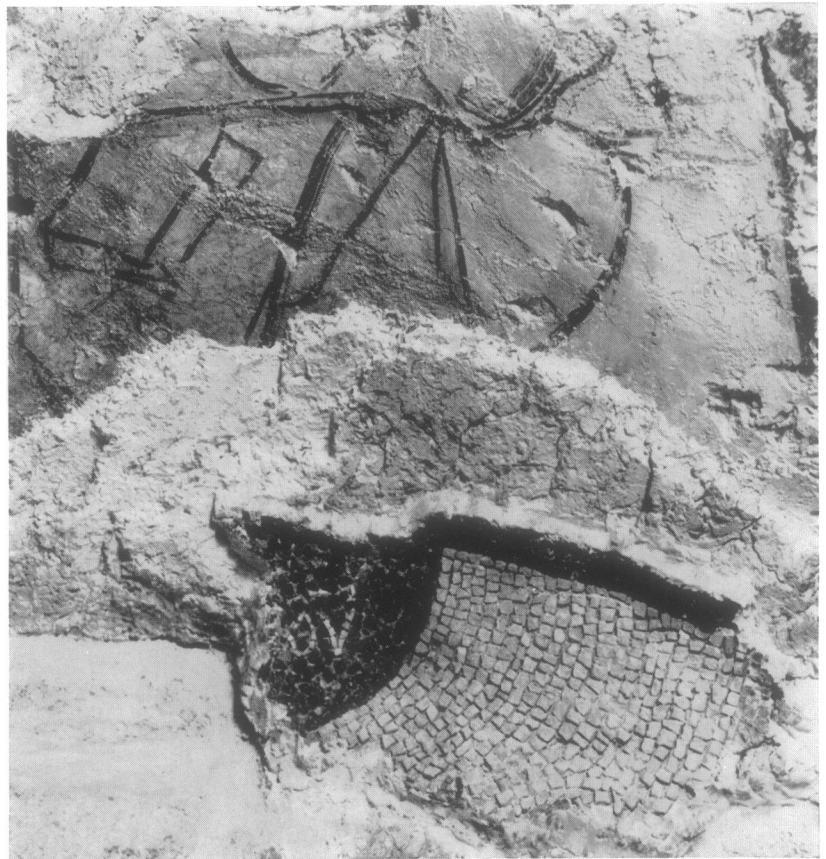
20. Parecclesion, Narthex, North Wall, showing Earlier Window



21. Parecclesion, Narthex, North Wall, Soffit of Earlier Window
Fethiye Camii



22. Fragment of Inscribed Cornice



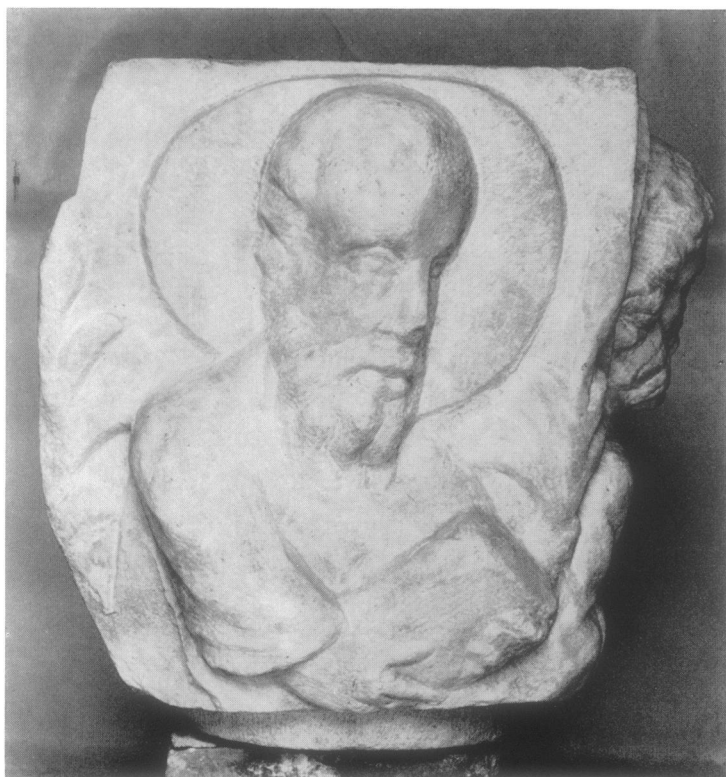
23. Parecclesion, Narthex, South Arcosolium of East Wall.
Remains of Mosaic Decoration



24. Parecclesion, Narthex, North Arcosolium of East Wall



25. Base of Colonnette



26. St. John?



27. St. Peter



28. St. Matthew?



29. Rear of Capital

Fethiye Camii. Capital decorated with Busts of Apostles



30. Fragment of Entablature decorated with Bust of Apostle



31. Fragment of Entablature decorated with Bust of Apostle, detail



32. Carved Corbel



33. Fragment of the Surround of an Arch



34. Marble Closure Slab



35.



36.

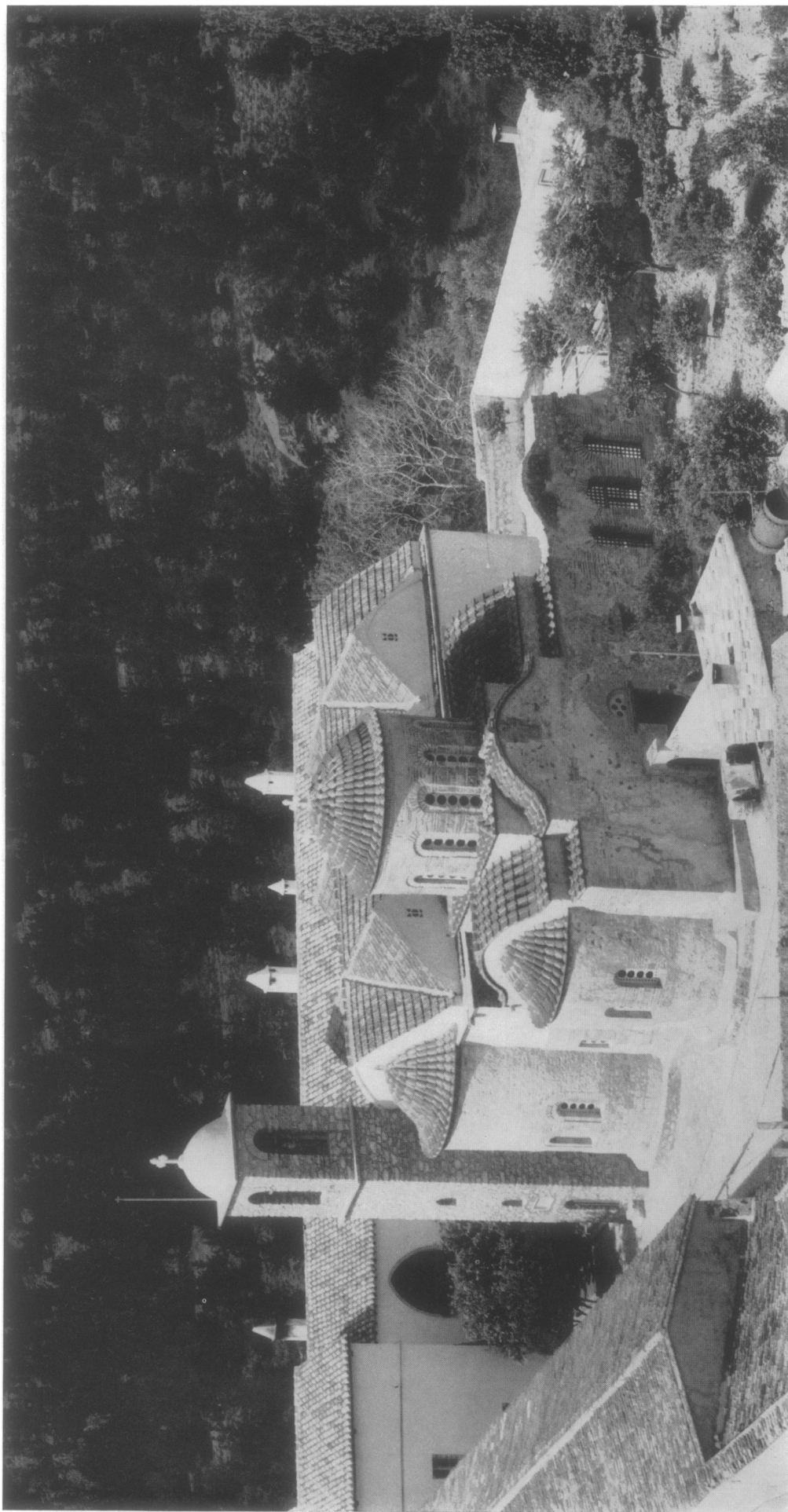


37.



38.

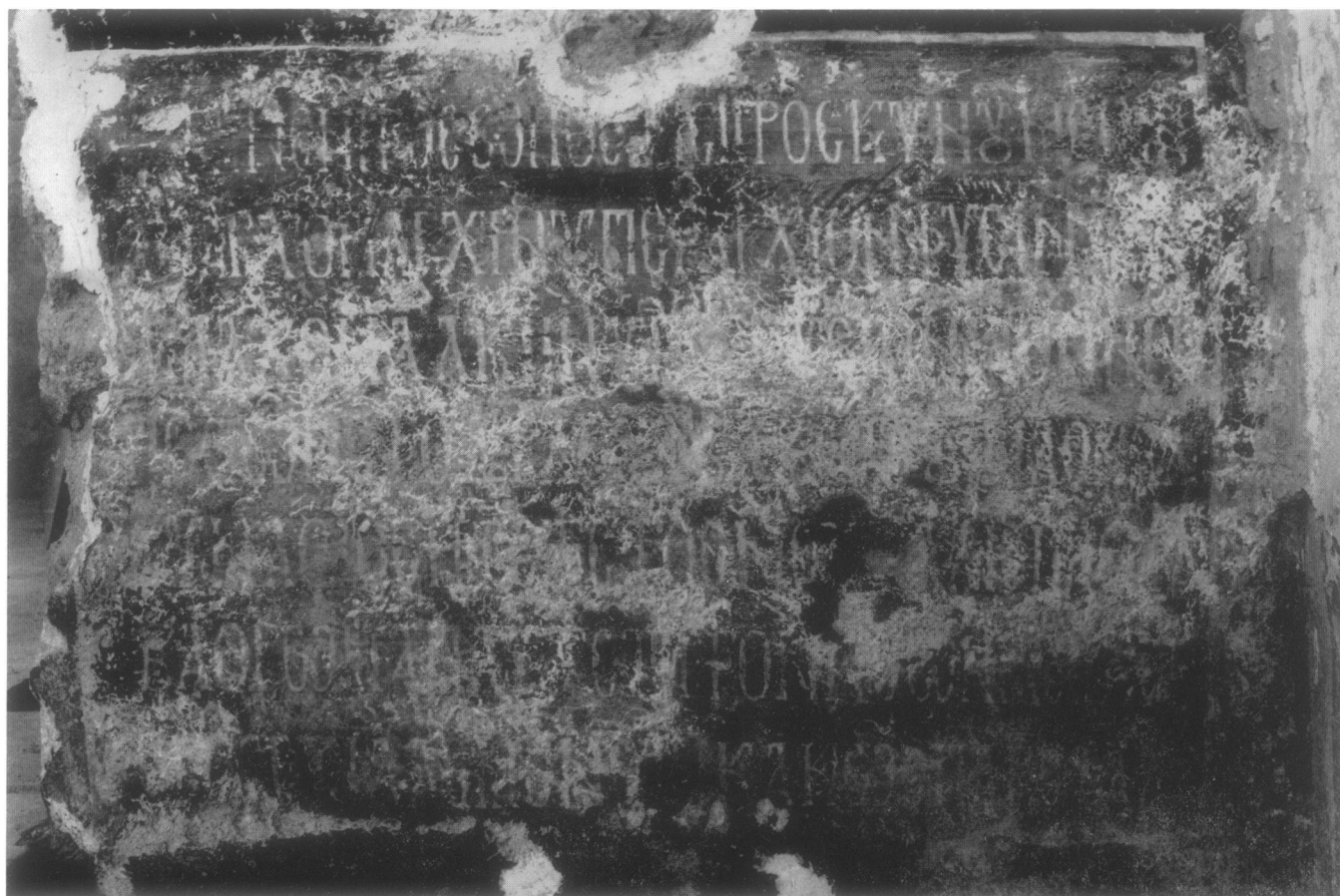
Fethiye Camii. Inscriptions



39. St. Chrysostom, Koutsovendi. General View of the Two Churches from the Northeast



40. St. Chrysostom, Koutsovendi. Icon of Angel



41. Painted Inscription on Southeast Pier

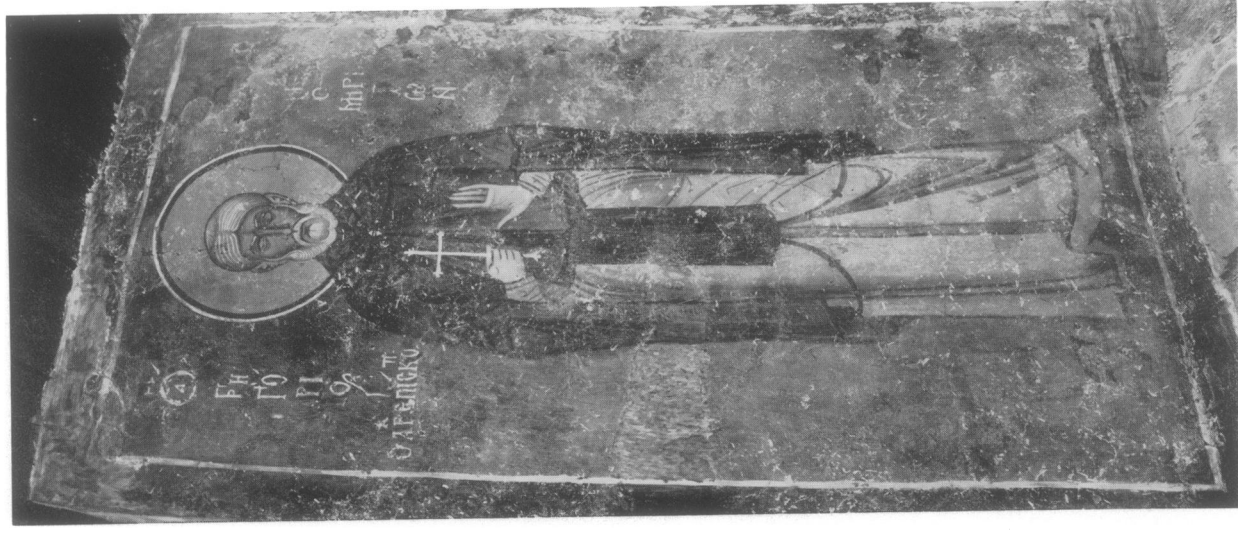


42. Painted Inscription on Northeast Pier
St. Chrysostom, Koutsovendi, Church of Holy Trinity



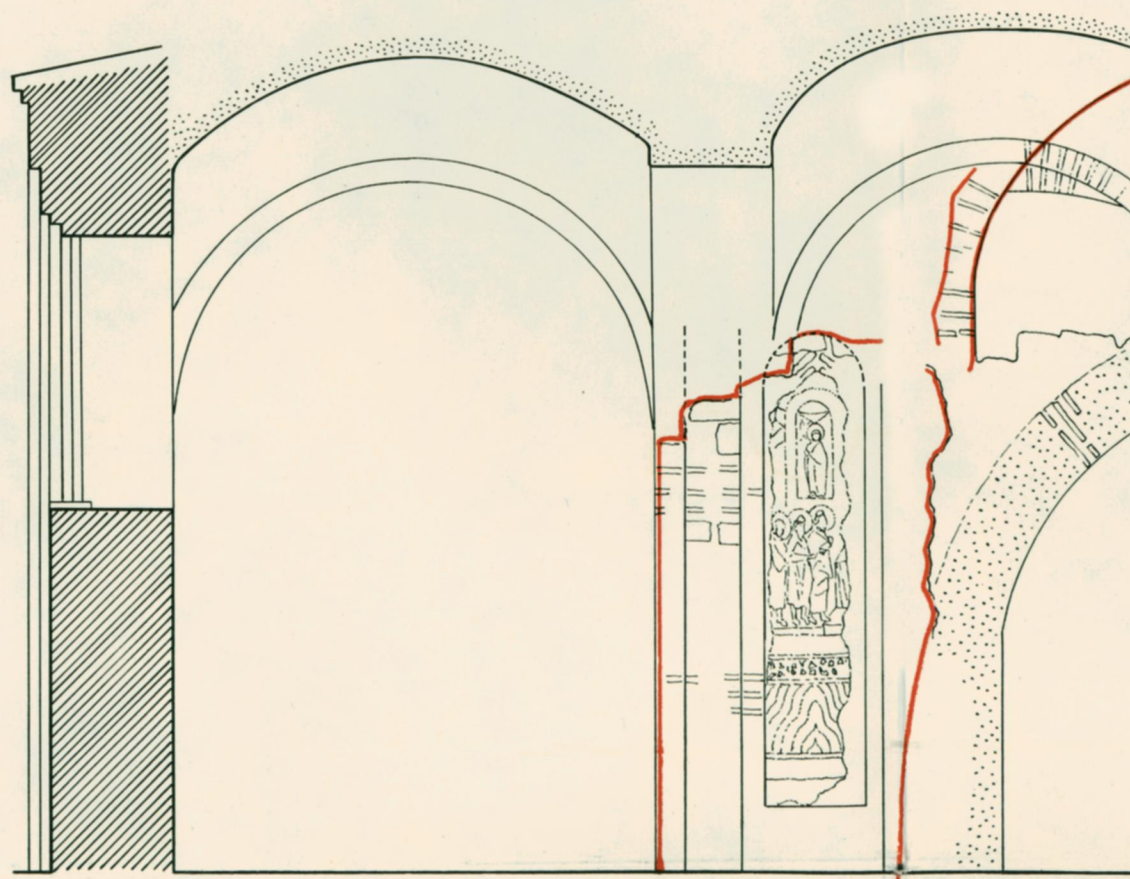
43. Northwest Pier, East Side, Fresco of Moses

St. Chrysostom, Koutsoveni

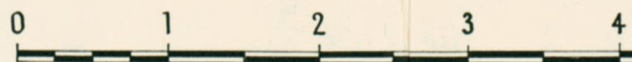


44. North Wall, Window, Fresco of St. Gregory, Archbishop of the Homerites

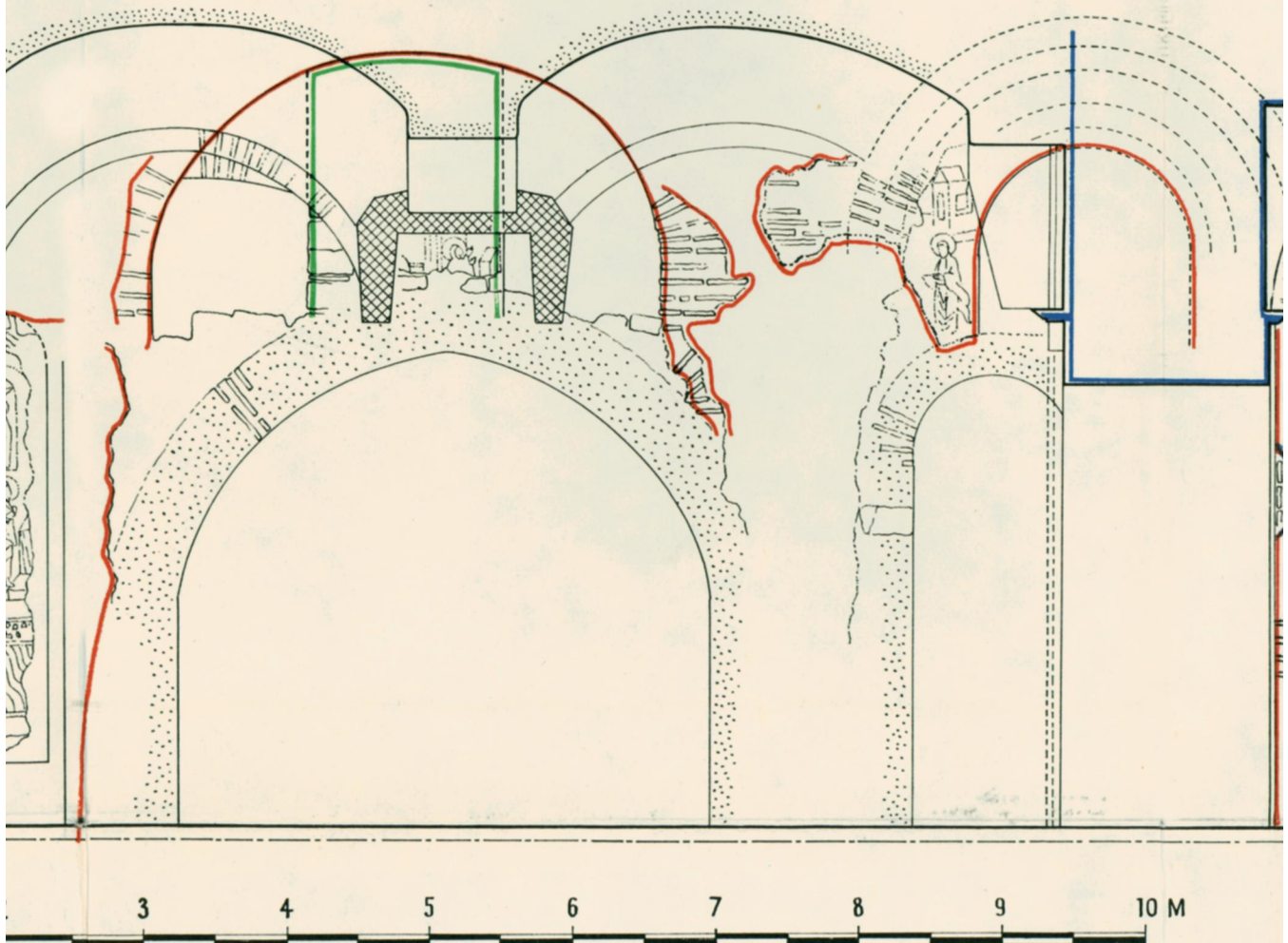
(See page 319 ff)

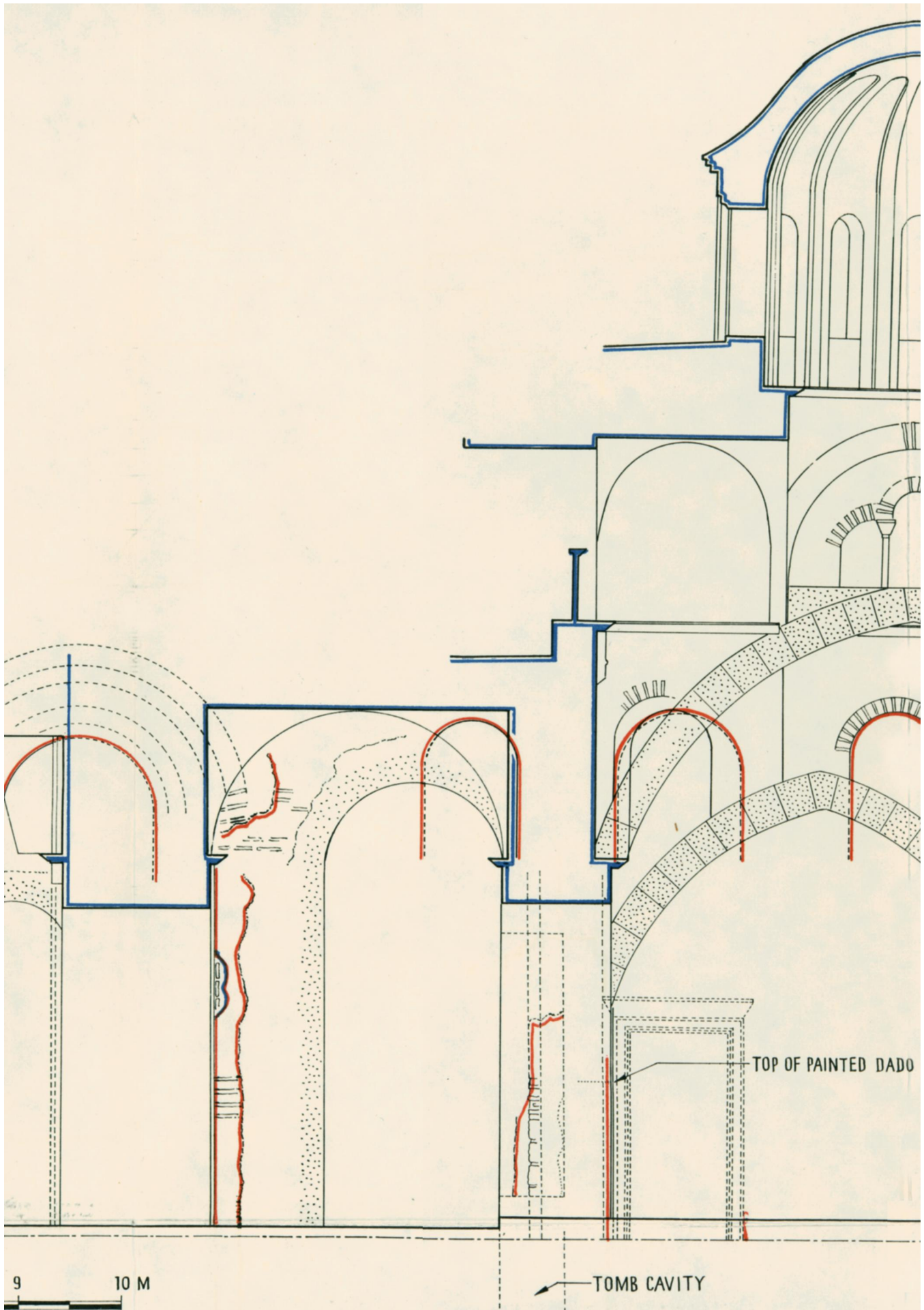


D.

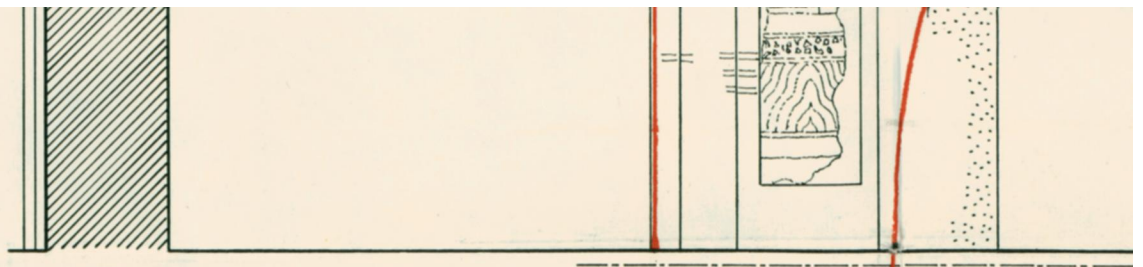


- COMNENIAN
- LATE XIIIth CENTURY
- EARLY XIVth CENTURY
- LATE BYZANTINE
- TURKISH
- BUILT BY THE BYZANTINE INSTITUTE

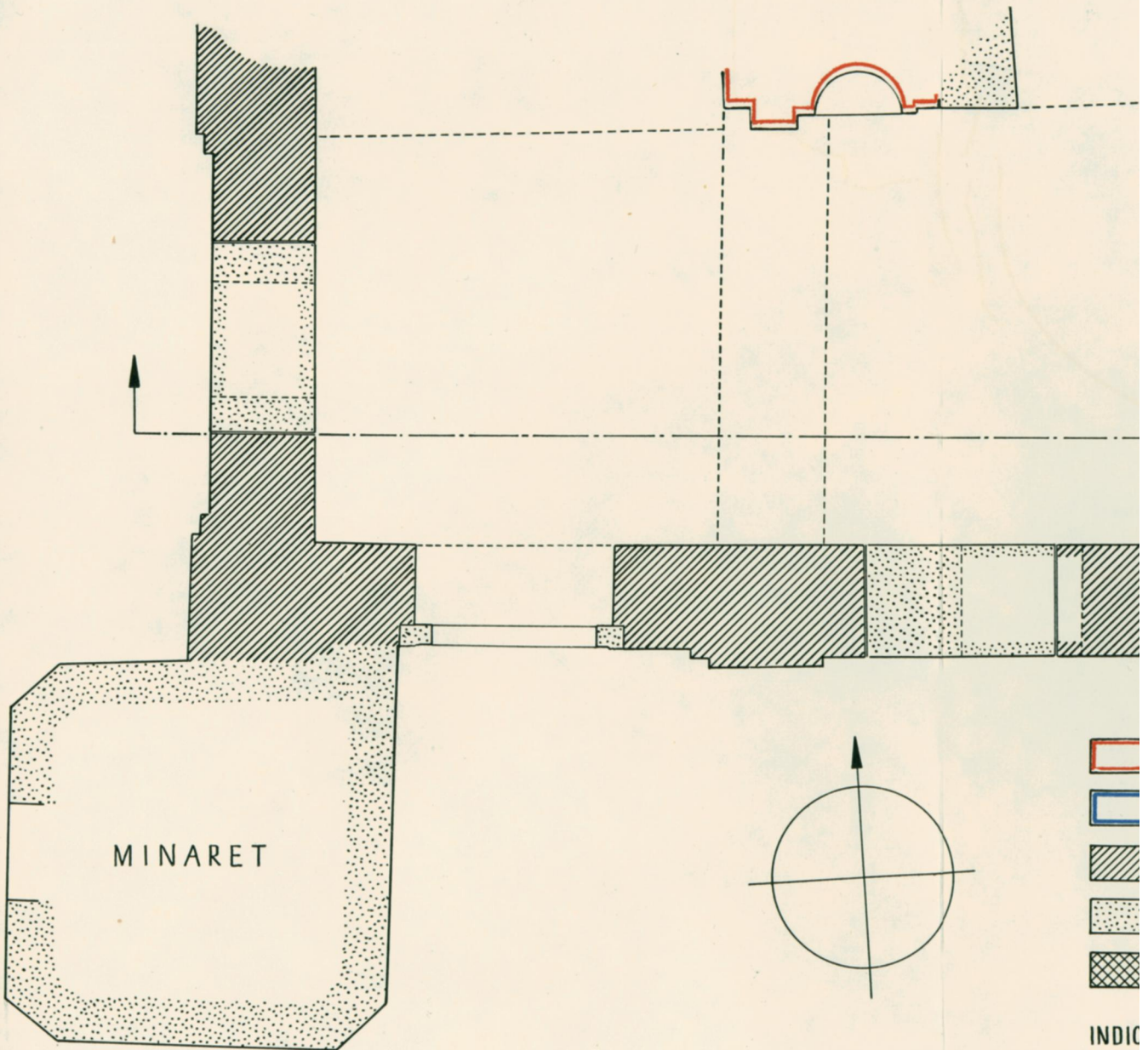
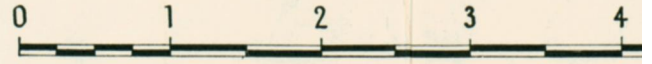








D.



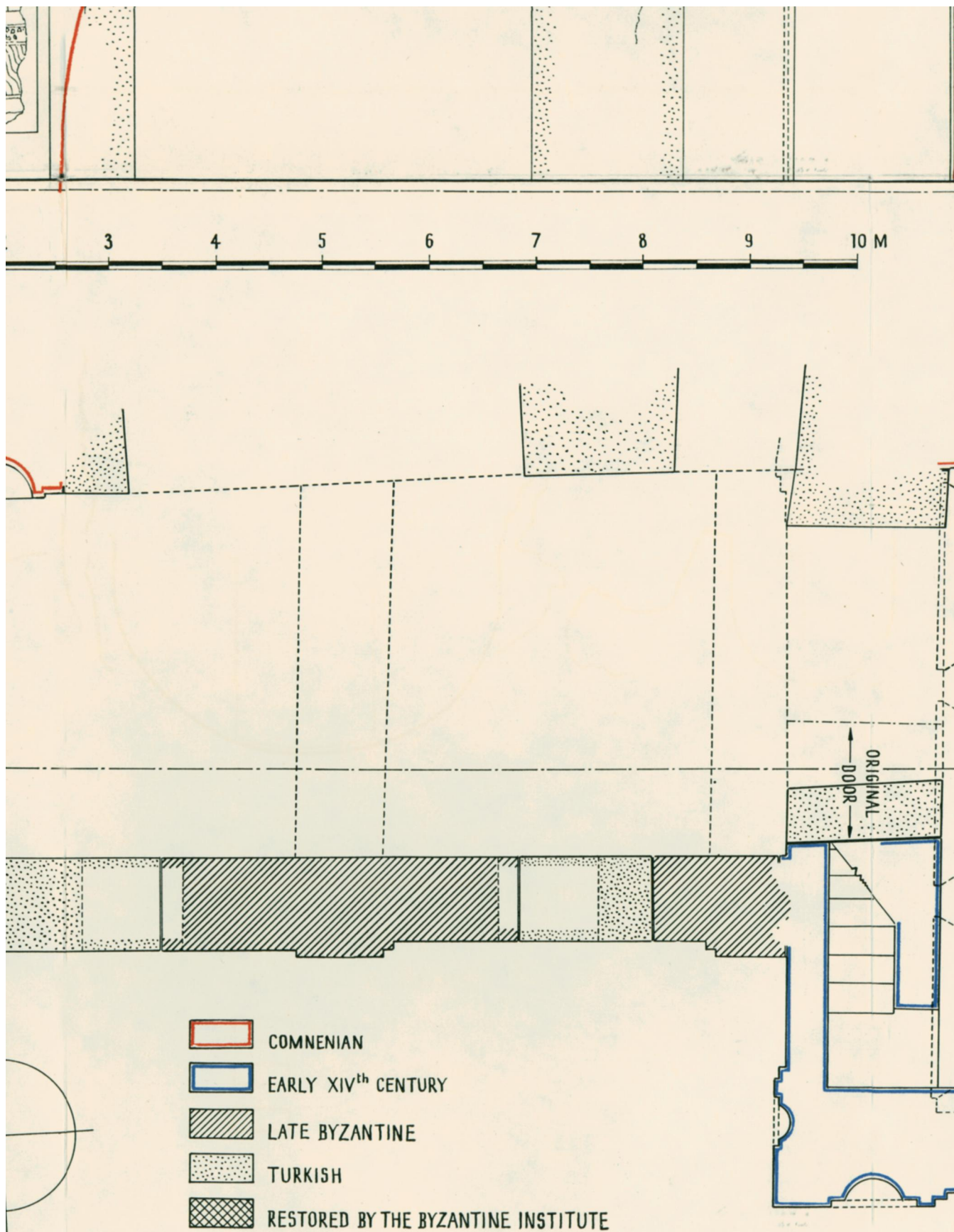
MINARET



INDIC

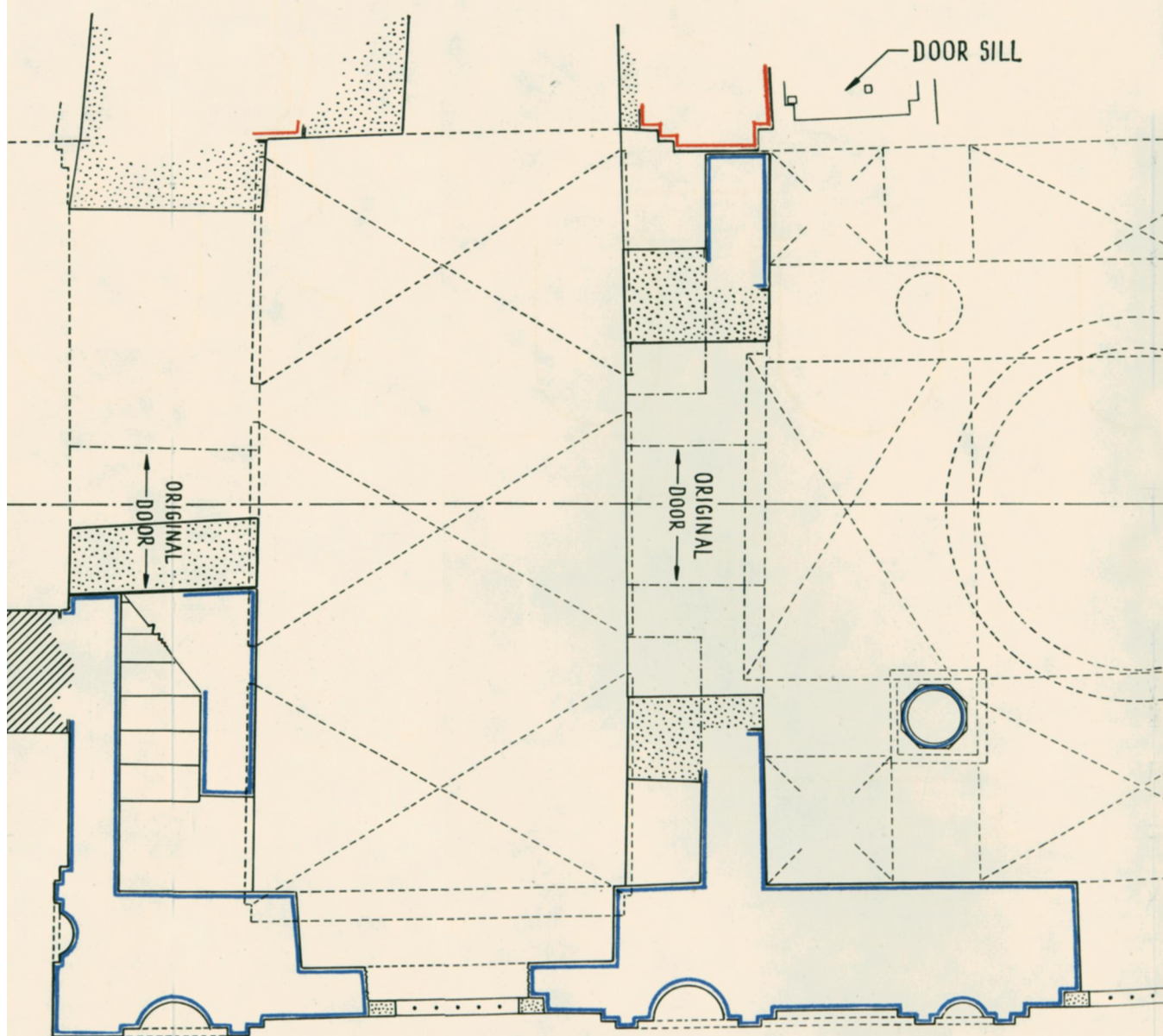
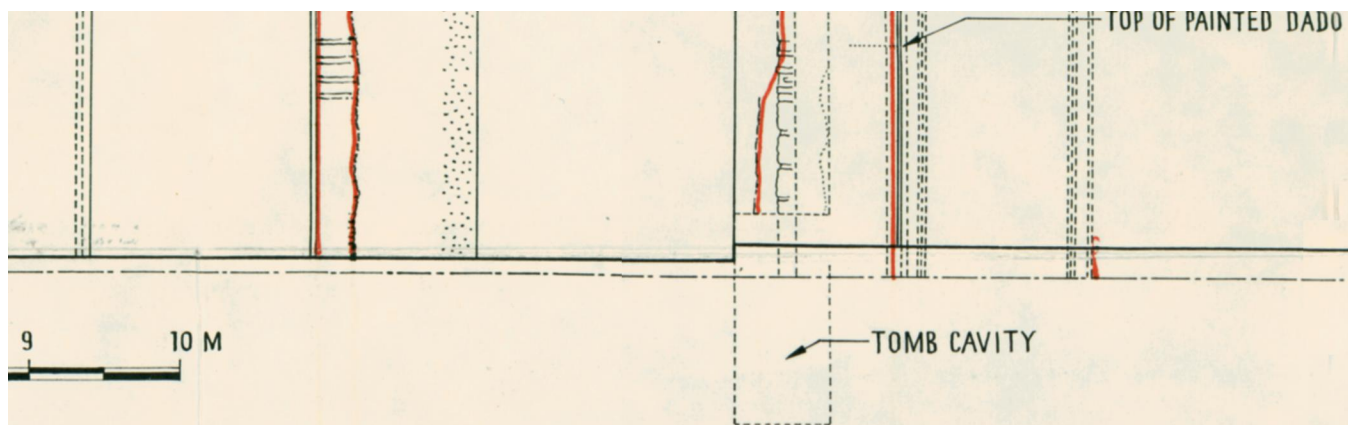
C.

FETHIYE

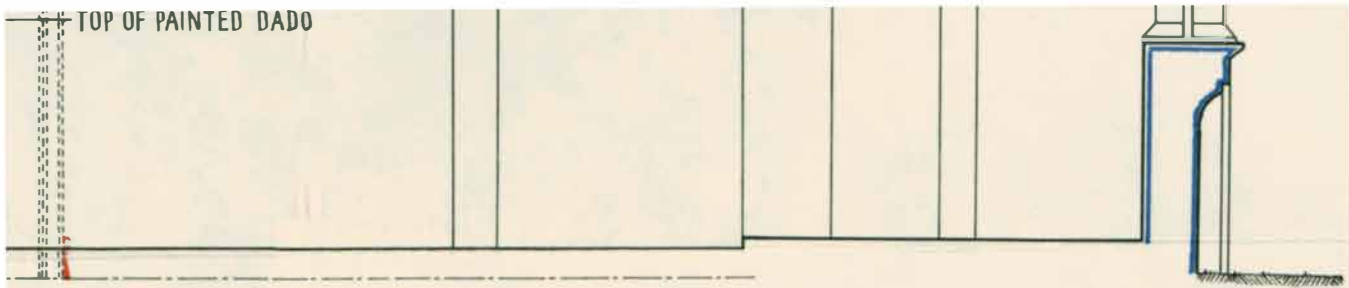


INDICATIONS OF PERIOD REFER TO FLOOR LEVEL

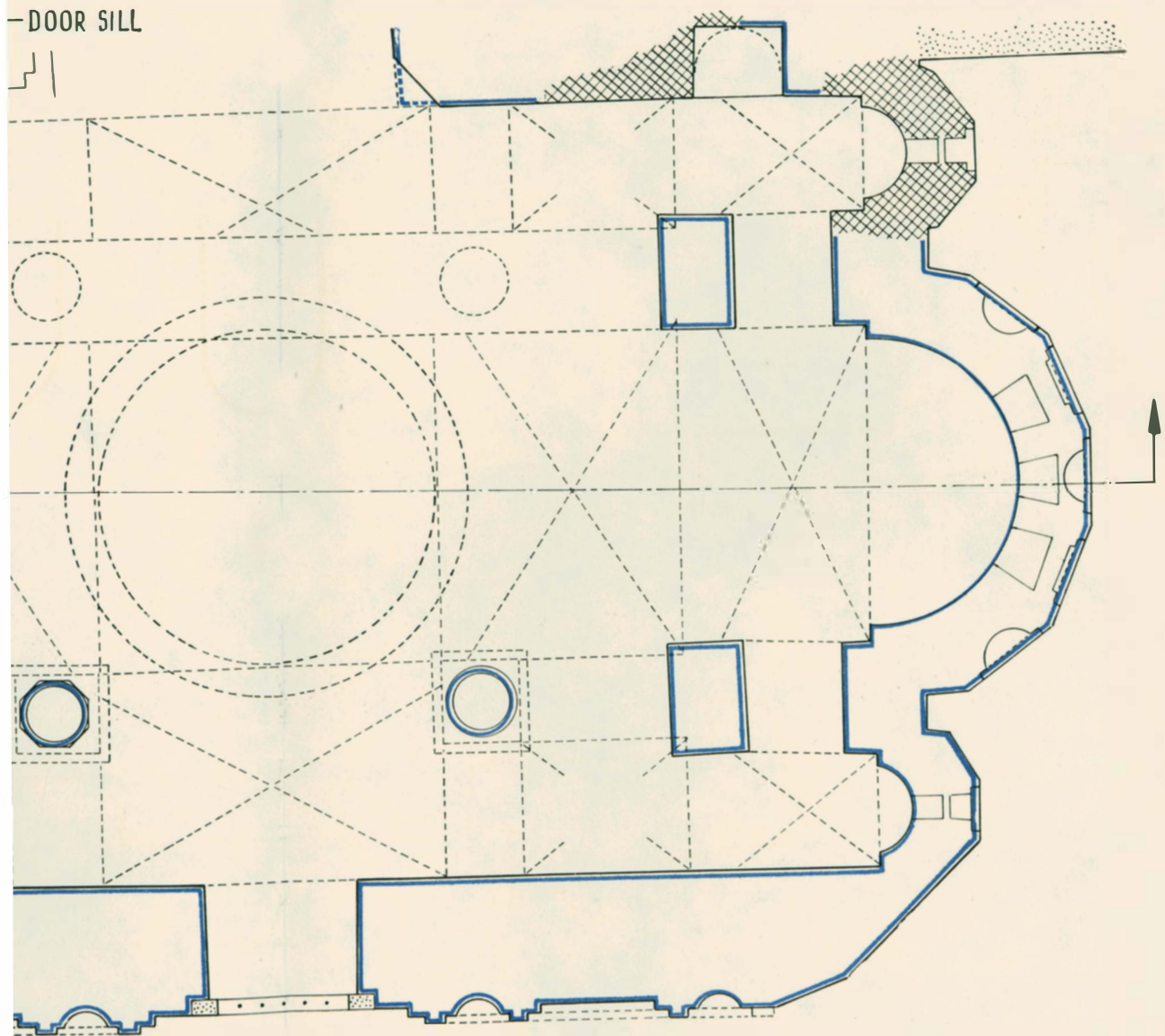
FETHIYE CAMII, PARECCLESION AND SOUTH ARM OF I



UTH ARM OF PERAMBULATORY. C, Plan. D, Section



CM & EJWH 1963



CM 1963

Section